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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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6 September 1985

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

U.S. WITHHOLDS AID FROM MEMBER STATES, UN FOR ANTI-U.S. VOTES

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 26, 7-14 Jul 85 p 7

[Article by Nikolai Krylov, LLM]

[Text] Recently the challenging policy of the USA towards the UN has become a salient component of the American foreign-policy course. Cyrus Vance, former US Secretary of State, put it as follows: When in the late 1940s and early 1950s we were the dominant force economically and militarily, there was no question of who was the leader in the UN and its international organizations. But, Vance continued, at present we cannot do anything singlehanded in the international organizations.

To this it should be added: not only can the United States not do anything singlehanded, but more and more often it remains in splendid isolation.

The decisions of the international organizations, notably those of the UN, take the form of resolutions which are put to the vote. Therefore the results of the voting reflect—very graphically, in figures—the agreement or disagreement of the majority of countries with the position of a state on the question under discussion.

Thus, out of the 65 resolutions adopted at the latest, 39th, session of the UN General Assembly on questions concerning the prevention of nuclear war and arms limitation, the USA voted against in 26 cases and abstained in 12. Moreover, on 10 occasions it found itself in total isolation.

We are witnessing a weakening of US positions in the UN and its organizations. Has Washington tried to change this situation, and if so—how? It would be more logical, of course, to follow the road of looking for compromise solutions with other countries. However, the USA, in full conformity with its overall foreign-policy line, has opted for a different course.

Essentially, it boils down to pressure and blackmail in relation to both other member-countries of the world community and the international organizations themselves.

The more widespread form of pressure is the threat to withdraw the promised financial, technical and military aid from the "faulty", i.e., those who do not obediently toe Washington's line. Highly indicative in this respect is the speech in the US Congress by Jeane Kirkpatrick, former US Permanent Representative to the United Nations, who said that the states must be given to understand that their voting, positions and actions within the framework of the UN system will inevitably tell on their relations with the United States outside the framework of the UN.

And these are not hollow threats. In 1983, for instance, "financial sanctions" were applied against Zimbabwe and Madagascar, which voted for a resolution condemning the US intervention in Grenada.

But even these kinds of power techniques do not bring Washington the desired political results. Therefore "sanctions" are now being applied against the international organizations themselves. The first salvoes were fired at the UN. In 1983, an attempt was made in the US Senate to add a special amendment to the bill on the performance of the State Department with the aim of cutting the US levy to the UN by 21 per cent as of October 1 of the same year, and from then on to annually cut it by another 10 per cent over the following three years. Charles Percy, former Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, called this measure an error which would have the most serious

consequences for US international prestige.

Then it was announced that the USA stood to lose nothing from the UN headquarters leaving New York. However, something quite to the contrary came to light. In 1983 alone, the revenues to New York's economy from the UN and the diplomatic missions accredited to it totalled 700 million dollars, while the US fee to the budget of that organization in the same year amounted to 171 million.

In 1982, the USA decided to stop paying its fee to the International Atomic Energy Agency (in 1983, Washington reversed this decision). Today the White House threatens to apply the same measures to the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the Universal Postal Union and even the United Nations Children's Fund.

Particularly revealing is Washington's attitude towards UNESCO. At first, the United States refused for two years to pay its membership dues, "punishing" UNESCO for its condemnation of Israel's criminal policy in the Middle East. And on January 1, 1985, it decided to withdraw from this specialized agency of the UN with the official reason being the "politicalization" of UNESCO and the excessive growth of its budget. But the true rationale is the weakening of US positions and UNESCO's reluctance to become Washington's obedient tool.

UNESCO Director-General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow had this to say on the subject: "They speak about the 'politicalization' of UNESCO as if the institutions of the UN were not born out of the political determination to found a just and durable peace by contributing to the overall progress

of humankind and the strengthening of understanding and cooperation between all nations. It is totally natural that the problems agitating the world today find a response in UNESCO." By its very nature and in accordance with its Charter, UNESCO cannot bypass the problems of disarmament, the information dominance of the American mass media, and the

criminal activity of the transnationals.

Washington cannot understand the simple truth that the attacks on the organizations of the UN are attacks on the whole of humankind. And the community of nations will never allow one of its members to rise up as the supreme judge above it!

CSO: 1812/322

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA RECALL 1935 COMINTERN CONGRESS

Popular Front Lauded

PM251053 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 85 First Edition p 4

[Doctor of Historical Sciences K. Shirinya article: "Against Fascism and War: On the 50th Anniversary of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International"]

[Text] The thirties...A decade of dramatic events and abrupt changes in mankind's life. The capitalist world is in the grip of an unprecedented economic crisis. Unemployment and poverty are overwhelming one country after another. Fascism has prevailed in Italy and Germany. World war is approaching.

It is these periods of social upheaval which particularly test the ability of political parties to evaluate reality soberly, to foresee the future, and to influence social phenomena. What must be done? That question was not only facing the communists. But only they were able to give a clear answer to it.

The Seventh Comintern Congress opened in Moscow 25 July 1935. It played an important part in the development of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in the working people's struggle against fascism and war. Sixty-five communist parties and a number of international organizations sent 513 delegates. E. Thaelmann, who was languishing in Hitler's prisons, was elected honorary chairman.

The congress was preceded by tremendous preparatory work. The latest experience of the antifascist struggle was summed up and obsolete and erroneous principles and sectarian and oversimplified ideas were subjected to bold criticism.

The congress assessed the victory of socialism in the Land of the Soviets and its transformation into a leading power economically, politically, and militarily as a fact of the greatest worldwide historical significance and a "major new shift in the correlation of class forces on a worldwide scale in favor of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism." The struggle of the proletariat and all working people of the world now had a powerful socialist

base. The USSR's successes were in themselves vivid practical evidence of the historical correctness of scientific communism.

The congress' work has centered on questions of rallying all revolutionary and democratic forces against fascism and war. The reports of W. Pieck, G. Dimitrov, P. Togliatti, and D. Manuilskiy and the delegates' speeches said that fascism had become a very great danger threatening the workers' movement and the cause of peace and social progress. Reaffirming the Comintern's earlier assessment of the class nature of fascism as an open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary circles of financial capital, the congress called on communists to carefully study this enemy, his peculiarities, his mass base, and his social and national demagoguery. We must not exaggerate fascism's potential, but we must see, as M. Thorez said, that it "is simultaneously a product of the disintegration of capitalism and an instrument of fierce attack on the working class." Attention was drawn particularly to the role of German fascism--the strike force of international counterrevolution and the main warmonger and instigator of the "crusade" against the USSR.

The world situation urgently required that the communists pursue an energetic policy to mobilize the broadest masses to rebuff reaction. And the Seventh Comintern Congress elaborated such a policy, putting forward the slogans of the creation of a unified workers' and antifascist people's front. This policy had already been tested in the class struggle in France, Spain, and certain other countries and had demonstrated its tremendous strength. Antifascist unity and antifascism entered into public life as an important political reality after the Seventh Congress.

The task of the people's front was not only to isolate the most obscurantist wing of monopoly capital, but also to gather forces in order to inflict a crushing blow on it. It was noted at the congress that the development of the general democratic, antifascist struggle could lead to the formation of governments of the people's front.

Thus: through the antifascist phase of the struggle and through people's front governments to the socialist transformation of society and the implementation of the working class' historic mission. Developing this idea, in September 1936, in the course of the discussion of the course and experience of the national revolutionary war in Spain, the Comintern Executive Committee formulated the principles of the theory of people's democratic revolution. The possibility, in certain conditions, of a directly socialist path of revolution was not, however, denied.

Thanks to the masses' struggle, the 20th century did not become the century of fascism. The communists marched in the front ranks of this struggle, to the point of giving their lives. The Soviet Union played the decisive role in the defeat of fascism. Out of the antifascist national liberation movements which relied on the Soviet people's combat operations, national and patriotic fronts were born. In a number of states people's democratic revolutions took place.



The policy of the people's front, enriched by the people's democratic revolution became the prototype for the present-day broad platforms of struggle for progressive, antimonopoly democracy, through which, as the communist parties of many countries note in their documents, it is possible to approach socialist transformations.

The congress' warnings on constant vigilance against the fascist menace and the need to direct the main blow against the chief enemy who threatens the cause of peace are relevant in our own day too. Today, this enemy is, first and foremost the U.S. and NATO militarist circles. As in the thirties, but in different forms, the bourgeoisie can be seen to be turning toward frenzied reaction. This turn reflects the bourgeoisie's desire to find a way out of the increasingly acute internal social contradictions and to try to stop the growth of socialism's influence and suppress national liberation movements by force.

In the confrontation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, imperialist reaction flies the flag of neoconservatism. It supports military-dictatorial regimes and encourages the activity of neo-Nazi parties and organizations and fascist groupings. Attempts are made to whitewash Hitlerite fascism and make the people forget its monstrous crimes. But the people's historical memory lives on. They will not allow a repetition of the horrors of the brown plague.

The Seventh Comintern Congress devoted particular attention to the struggle against the approaching war. It introduced a number of fundamentally new features to the communists' antiwar policy. "It is not only possible to postpone war," P. Togliatti said, "but in certain conditions it is possible even to avert the actual outbreak of a new imperialist war." This possibility was associated with the strengthening of the Soviet Union's international positions, the rallying of working class ranks, the expansion of the peace movement, and the interest of those states directly threatened by fascist aggression and of a number of other countries in a policy of peace.

The slogan was put forward of creating a worldwide peace front which would include all antiwar forces. The congress warned: It is necessary to struggle against the tendency which exists in the Western states' bourgeois circles to connive with aggressors and appease them on an anti-Soviet footing. Subsequent events demonstrated the timeliness and justice of these warnings. Life also confirmed the correctness of the congress' conclusion on the possibility of a coalition between the USSR and a number of bourgeois states in the struggle against fascist brigandage.

Fundamental importance was attached to the tenet that peace is a vital condition of social progress and the socialist transformation of society. The congress decisions noted: "...The communist parties' central slogan must be: the struggle for peace." It reflected both the USSR's interests and the hopes and aspirations of all peoples of good will.

In the 50 years which have passed since the Seventh Comintern Congress, profound changes in favor of socialism have taken place in the world. But imperialism retains its most important citadels. It is from here that the threat of nuclear conflict emanates, a conflict which would lead to the annihilation of human civilization.

In this situation the task of preserving peace becomes a priority. This task is that of all mankind, of all the world. The global threat of nuclear cataclysm demands a global response: the unification of all who oppose the militarists' madness.

The present-day antiwar movement is notable for its unprecedented breadth and multifaceted social and political makeup. The communists conduct an honest dialogue with all who call for a peaceful future. They expose the imperialists' attempts to split the ranks of the peace supporters and reject the false thesis of "equal responsibility" for international tension on the part of the United States and the USSR.

A major role in the defense of peace belongs to the joint actions of communists and social democrats. This was stressed at the seventh congress. It is confirmed by all historical experience. An important step toward this unity of action today is the CPSU Central Committee's contacts with the Socialist International Consultative Council on Disarmament.

Socialism is the main bulwark of peace--that was stated at the seventh congress. In our day, now that the socialist world has become a decisive factor for social progress, this tenet is still more indisputable. The U.S. administration's attempts to wreck the military-strategic equilibrium are resolutely rebuffed by the socialist community states, which are the main guarantee of peace and an insuperable barrier in the path of those who lay claim to world domination.

The Seventh Comintern Congress bequeathed to present-day communists another important precept: Display constant concern for the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Armed with the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress, the communist parties showed themselves to be staunch defenders of the interests of the working class and all working people and the most resolute opponents of fascism and war. This great heritage, these glorious traditions are continued and developed by the present-day communist movement--the vanguard of the struggle for mankind's common ideals of peace, for democracy, and for national independence and socialism.

#### Cooperation With Social Democrats

PM251542 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 85 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Adibekov: "Lesson of History; For the 50th Anniversary of the 7th Comintern Congress"]

[Excerpts] The forum of the world's communists worked for almost a month--from 25 July through 21 August 1935. And that was no accident.



Some 7 years crammed with the most important events had elapsed since the previous, sixth, congress. The capitalist world, which had enjoyed temporary and partial stabilization, experienced in 1929-1932 the deepest and most acute economic crisis in its entire history. The dark shadow of the brown plague was looming over Europe: in January 1933 the "fathers" of German imperialism had placed the Hitlerite party in power.

A strategic regrouping [orientirovka] which would encourage the working people of the entire world to effectively struggle against fascism and war was required. This historic task was resolved by the Seventh Comintern Congress.

The congress was not just the longest but also the most representative communist forum of its time. There were 513 delegates representing 65 communist parties. The congress delegates included eminent figures in the international communist and workers movement: K. Bakdash, J. Gollan, K. Gottwald, G. Diaz, G. Dimitrov, A. Zapotocky, D. Ibarruri, M. Cachin, V. Komarov, J. Koplenig, Bela Kun, O. Kuusinen, W. Pieck, H. Pollitt, I. Stalin, P. Togliatti, M. Thorez, W. Ulbricht, W. Foster, Ho Chi Minh, and many others. E. Thaelmann, who was in one of Hitler's torture chambers, was elected honorary chairman of the congress.

The congress played an enormous role in galvanizing the broadest strata of the people's masses to struggle against fascism, and primarily German fascism. In defining the class essence of fascism the congress relied on the precise and succinct conclusion of the 13th plenum of the Comintern Executive Committee (1933): fascism in power is open terrorist dictatorship by the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of financial capital.

The decisions and conclusions of the Seventh Comintern Congress on the questions of the struggle against fascism armed communists tactically and strategically and gave them the opportunity to rally antifascist forces in various countries.

What, according to the Seventh Comintern Congress, was the main condition for the success of the proletarian struggle against fascism and war? It would have been impossible to overcome fascism and war with just the forces of front-ranking workers alone. Life persistently demanded that all workers, the working peasantry, the urban petite bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia be rallied, irrespective of their political views. That is why communists saw their central task as creating a united workers and broad people's front.

The question of mutual relations between communist and social-democratic parties was posed here in all its magnitude. Launching an offensive, fascism inflicted terror on communists and social-democrats. Under these conditions the ideological differences between both factions of the workers movement could no longer be an obstacle to joint action. The congress called for a forward- rather than backward-looking approach and for the pooling of efforts to repulse the deadly onslaught of the enemy, crush him, and defend working people's interests.

Life confirmed the correctness of the congress conclusions and directives on the questions of uniting the workers movement and forming a people's front. There are many examples: republican Spain; prewar France; the resistance movement in Nazi-occupied countries; the emergence of people's democratic states in Central and Southeast Europe in the latter half of the forties; and the current struggle by working people in various countries against monopolies and reaction and for profound democratic and progressive transformations.

The Seventh Comintern Congress was an important landmark in the development of the international communist and workers movement and in turning it into the most influential political force of the day. The ideas of the congress have been tried and tested by time and creatively developed in the furnace of revolutionary practice. Even today they orient communists toward the quest for more effective ways and means of resolving global tasks, struggling against imperialism and reaction, and ensuring disarmament and the peoples' security, peace, democracy, and socialism.

CSO: 1807/442

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

SOVIET LABOR PAPER URGES GREATER DISARMAMENT ROLE FOR ILO

Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 May 85 p 3

[Article by E. Aleksandrov under the rubric "International Labor Movement": "Defend the Right to Life: An Active Struggle for Disarmament Is the ILO's Direct Responsibility"]

[Text] The International Labor Organization [ILO] has a prominent place among the specialized institutions of the UN: its rules stipulate that one of its basic goals is the task of defending the rights of the workers.

Presently, under conditions of a significant increase in the activity of the militaristic circles, which is creating a serious threat of a new world war breaking out, trade unions of various hues all agree that the most important, the principal right of the working man is--his right to life. One would think that there could not be the slightest doubt that the ILO would constantly keep this right in mind. However, we are forced to admit with profound dismay that right up to the present day it does not display enough concern for it, and instead devotes itself to secondary problems.

For a number of years now the governments of the USSR and other socialist countries have, in the course of the work of the ILO general conferences, persistently raised the question of the fact that the organization can and should sharply increase its contribution to the struggle for peace and disarmament. Who, if not the ILO, should be seriously concerned with problems of the socio-economic consequences of the arms race and disarmament? After all, the arms race is not only pushing mankind to the brink of the precipice but also has ruinous consequences for the position of working people today.

The cyclical economic crisis involving most of the nations of the West in the early 1980's has led to a situation in which unemployment in developed capitalist states still exceeds 30 million persons, even according to reduced official figures. The steady decline in industrial growth rates being observed today will inevitably entail new blows to employment. And the Reagan Administration's announced plans for preparations for "Star Wars" already involves a sharp reduction in social programs in the United States.

Under these conditions the ILO's direct responsibility is to immediately summon all members to active involvement in the struggle for disarmament. Isn't it time to remove from the ILO secretary's desk the proposal long since introduced by the representatives of the socialist states?

As recently as 1981, after persistent demands by delegations from the socialist countries, the ILO adopted a resolution on the economic and social consequences of disarmament. However, as a practical matter it was not put into effect. Thus, in accordance with this resolution the November 1983 session of the ILO Administrative Council adopted a resolution on carrying out research in two directions. First of all, on studying problems of conversion--that is, switching production of defense industry to output of goods for civilian needs. And secondly, on the socio-economic consequences of aid to the developing countries by virtue of reducing military spending.

In the elapsed period, research on the first of these directions has been clearly unsatisfactory. For now, the matter is limited to publishing articles in the ILO magazine, "International Survey of Labor".

And as far as the second direction of planned research is concerned--which has special significance for the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America--not a single dollar has been allocated for conducting the research, and not a single program for action has appeared in this important area.

It is completely obvious that the ILO, which was in its time awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, is obliged to radically change its approach to questions of participation in the struggle for peace and disarmament. In any case there has long been a need to prepare a special program on "Socio-Economic Aspects of Disarmament".

A positive impulse for solving these tasks could be provided were the ILO general director to make a speech at one of the coming sessions of the ILO General Conference, in which the point of view of the ILO secretariat were expressed on ways and means for the organization to take part in the struggle for disarmament. The next step in this same direction could be including in the agenda for the ILO General Conference a special point on "Disarmament and Social Policy", in order that the result of examination of this question could be the adoption of a Universal Declaration on Disarmament and the Socio-Economic Process. Such proposals have already been introduced by representatives of the socialist countries at sessions of the ILO administrative organs.

It is also well-known that, at the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly, Resolution 38/188 was adopted, which proposes "specialized institutions and other organs and programs, within the framework of the UN system, and to further expand its contribution in its own areas of competence in the matter of arms limitation and disarmament". At the last UN General Assembly, the 39th, a special resolution was adopted, which requires all specialized UN institutions to take part in celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the Victory over Fascism.

At the present time, when all the nations of the world are solemnly marking this anniversary, it would be desirable for the ILO to take heed of the lessons of history, which bear witness to the fact that war must be

forestalled, lest it start. It is time for the International Labor Organization to make use of its capabilities to achieve those goals to which the UN has summoned it, goals which are supported by the broad masses of the working people, and the peace-loving forces of the entire planet.

9006

CSO: 5200/1216

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

BELORUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WRITES ON UN JUBILEE

[Editorial Report] Minsk KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII in Russian No 6, June 1985 publishes on pages 35-40 a 3,000-word article by A. Gurinovich, Belorussian SSR minister of foreign affairs, entitled "An Important Instrument in Support of Peace." The article reviews the history of the UN since its founding in 1945, praising Soviet policies in regard to the UN and criticizing U.S. policies. It concludes by discussing Belorussia's contribution to the UN.

CSO: 1807/452

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

RELATIONS WITH EUROPE 'KEY FACTOR OF INTERNATIONAL STABILITY'

PM221441 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 32, Aug 85 pp 4-6

[Article by Vladlen Kuznetsov: "Europe, Which Way?"]

[Text] The 10th anniversary of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and its Final act is for all Europeans an occasion for reflection. On what has been and has not been accomplished in these years. On the benefits of cooperation and good-neighborship and the harmfulness of confrontation. On the outlook for detente, to which Europe owes so much, above all the fact that the continent, regardless of all the vicissitudes of international development, remains at peace. And, lastly, on Europe's role in the world political arena.

The 700 million Europeans in the Western and Eastern parts of the continent are entering the fifth decade of uninterrupted peace. It is difficult to find a period of equal duration without wars and conflicts in the whole of the turbulent history of Europe. To whom do they owe this? Primarily, of course, to the European peoples themselves, who drained the bitter cup of suffering to the dregs in the years of World War II and do not want the tragedy to be repeated in a still more horrendous, nuclear variant. Of course, to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, thanks to whose initiative and energy no little inflammable material was removed from European soil: the West Berlin time bomb was defused and treaties were concluded with West Germany recognizing the inviolability of its frontiers with its eastern neighbors. It was precisely on the initiative of the USSR and the other socialist countries that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was held. And, needless to say, credit must be given to the authoritative and influential peace movement in the western part of the continent and the many political leaders there who prefer to think in terms not of confrontation, but of cooperation.

The Soviet Union is fully aware of the contribution made by West Europeans to the consolidation of peace in Europe and values that contribution. Moscow welcomed the policy of concord with the East advocated by President Charles de Gaulle of France and the political courage of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and his colleagues who were able to break through the barriers of the "Adenauer era." Now Moscow pays tribute to the efforts of

Finland, Sweden and Greece towards the creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the continent. Constructive too is the project elaborated jointly by political leaders and experts of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for the establishment in Europe of a zone free of chemical weapons. The views advanced by West German Social democratic leaders on East-West partnership in the sphere of security likewise command attention.

All these and other similar considerations, ideas and projects are the common possession of all Europeans striving to scale down the level of military confrontation, to combine political and military detente and thereby achieve what has not been achieved so far and weights down heavily on the entire continent. One can only hope that the common accumulation and potential of dedication to peace is multiplied further to the benefit of all, if not now, then in the near future.

The present situation in Europe could of course be much better than it is. Moreover, it is fraught with no few dangers, both present and potential. Nevertheless, it is not the factors of war but the factors of peace that predominate in the life of the continent. Nor should it be forgotten that it is precisely in Europe that the world community has registered the biggest achievements in the affirmation of the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is Europe that took, to use military parlance, the commanding height in East-West relations and is continuing to hold it at the cost of incredible effort and, regrettably, no small losses.

Ten years ago Europe did a truly epochal service to the entire world community by adopting the Final Act, that charter of peaceful coexistence, of political and military detente, a programme of long-term cooperation between East and West in all areas of human endeavor, political, economic and humanitarian. Today a new impulse to the constructive continuation of the policy of detente is expected of Europe.

And rightly so. For the level and tenor of East-West relations are largely determined in Europe. It is a barometer and regulator of these relations. And to a large extent it shapes these relations.

But for Europe to be able to perform its global mission in the matter of improving the overall political climate on our planet, it is essential primarily to put its own house in order, to make it more secure. It is essential to affirm the constructive, stabilizing role Europe so successfully began to play in world affairs in the seventies, at the height of detente.

There are many avenues to this. For one thing, achievement of agreement on the crucial issues examined in the talks in Stockholm and Vienna. For another, progress towards ridding Europe of nuclear and chemical weapons, towards the creation of non-nuclear zones, then there is the establishment of durable relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community, the promotion of political cooperation between the socialist and the capitalist countries to which the coming official visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to France should give impetus. And this does not exhaust the possibilities.



Only Europe itself can meet its pressing need for security. This need is the main subject discussed in Stockholm and Vienna. It is surely for the Europeans to have the decisive say. No one can safeguard Europe's interests, its present and future, better than Europe itself. It is to be hoped that the outcome in Geneva will be positive and Soviet-American relations put on an even keel. But this is no justification for sitting back passively to wait for the desired changes.

Europe is the forum for many international talks. The issues taken up at them impinge in one way or another on the vital interests of the continent, and it depends in decisive measure on the Europeans whether these talks produce positive results, or not. Although the European countries do not have a direct part in the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space armaments, it is fully within their powers to facilitate the positive outcome of these talks. As regards Western Europe, it has at its disposal levers by which to influence its transatlantic ally; what is needed is the desire and resolve to use these levers. If Washington recently was compelled to refrain from outright denunciation of the SALT-2 treaty, it did so also with an eye to West European sentiment.

There is unquestionably more common sense, consistency and predictability --political qualities which are glaringly in short supply in the U.S.--in the Western part of our continent than on the other side of the ocean. Unlike the situation in the U.S., the tendency towards rigid confrontation with the socialist world has never gained the upper hand in Western Europe. And relations between the two parts of Europe are marked by a higher degree of moderation, restraint and stability than the United States' relations with the USSR and the other European socialist countries.

In view of this the Soviet Union regards its relations with the West European countries as a key factor of international stability and security. Through the prism of Soviet-West European relations the world community can see the unquestionable advantages of the policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

What can be seen through the prism of American-West European relations? Are these truly allied relations? An instance of identity of interests, equality, and trust?

"The West European countries" former Prime Minister of Denmark Anker Jorgensen has said, "have succeeded in making it plain to the United States that we see no alternative to the continuation and deepening of a dialogue with the Warsaw Treaty countries, despite possible difficulties." Yes, it is sometimes necessary to expound obvious, self-evident truths. For instance, that "we in Europe have lived alongside Russians for centuries" and that "your (the Americans') distance from the Russians" interferes, to cite what British Ambassador to the U.S. sir Oliver Wright said at the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations. "The Russian leaders," he said, drawing on the experience of Europe, "will never allow themselves to become militarily inferior to the United States."

A truly instructive lecture for the American audience! Of course, the Ambassador also threw in a modicum of anti-communism, but the important thing is that he respects the truth, which, regrettably is poorly assimilated on the other side of the ocean. "America has always tended to underestimate the value to America of peace and quiet on the European front," he said.

The Ambassador hit the nail on the head. European values are not held in high esteem in the U.S. Indeed, American imperial global strategy does not exclude the conversion of the peaceful European landscape into a "front," a "Theatre of Hostilities."

"The United States," Jorgensen said, "should realize that because of our geographical location we do not want to 'close our door,' just as we do not want to fall under the influence of a global, purely American strategy." The trouble, however, is that this is something official Washington refuses to grasp. It believes that its West European allies have nothing else to do but uncomplainingly to balance on the footboard of the American war chariot hurtling, in the driver's opinion, towards total military preponderance over the USSR and the other socialist countries. It is this mad race that contains the main danger to peace in Europe.

But how many are there in Western Europe who are prepared blindly to follow the NATO leader? Only the troubadours of West German revanchism who associate with military superiority their own insane territorial claims on their European neighbors. Here lies another serious threat to Europe.

The New York TIMES concedes that there is a growing tendency in Western Europe to dissociate itself from the Reagan Administration and its excessive orientation on confrontation in its relations with the Soviet Union. Dwelling on the differences between Western Europe and the U.S. on the question of relations with the USSR, David Calleo, director of the European Studies Programme at the Johns Hopkins University, writes in the Paris Nouvel Observateur that as distinct from the West European "policy of straight-forward evolution" of detente in relations with the USSR, Washington's line consists of an "alternation of detente and confrontation." It would be more precise to say that the confrontation cycles clearly predominate. In these circumstances the Washington monopoly on determining the policy of the entire West as regards security and relations with the Soviet Union is being challenged in Western Europe in one or another form. The United States' allies would like to exercise a more tangible influence on these processes than they have so far.

But this is not simple to do. Characterizing America's leading role in the Western alliance and meekly expressing the hope that it will need the opinion of the allies, the British Ambassador to the U.S. put it thus: "Although Reagan is in the driver's seat, you have a goodly number of backseat drivers aboard--Thatcher, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, President Francois Mitterand, among others: backseat drivers who have helped pay for the car and the gas and so have a legitimate say in where we are going, by what route and at what speed."

The car is being driven not very skillfully and smoothly, every now and then it skids, causing the passengers to catch their breath. At times it may even seem that they are lambs being taken to the slaughter--nuclear slaughter.

The peaceful European landscape is thick with Washington and NATO thorns. Nevertheless, the post-Helsinki all-European process has not been interrupted. In the present disarray of international affairs and the present instability this process remains practically the most durable political connecting link in East-West relations.

Those transatlantic quarters who assume that they have been able to strangle the all-European process are badly mistaken, carried away by wishful thinking. Only wishful thinking can account for the statement made by Max Kampelman, former head of the U.S. delegation at the Madrid meeting and now American chief negotiator at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons, that there is no occasion for celebration in Helsinki.

Europe is of a different opinion.

As the Foreign Minister of Finland, Paavo Vayrynen has pointed out, the all-European process has demonstrated its vitality and withstood the fluctuations in international political life in recent years. The constancy of the process, the Minister said, is a glimmer of light without which the international horizon would be even gloomier than it is now. The dynamism of the process has been recognized also by the French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. Many European leaders hold that the opportunities opened by the all-European conference have by no means been exhausted. They can be realized to improve East-West relations by the joint effort of the socialist and the capitalist countries.

Of course, the all-European conference has so far been the culmination, the peak in the relations between the two worlds. But the Soviet Union does not think that this is the maximum possible, that nothing more can be achieved. However, marking time, zigzags and even retreats do not mean that the all-European process, the process of peaceful cooperation among peoples the wiser for their tragic experience, has completely spent itself in the past ten years. This process has a future, for many of the objectives set by the Helsinki forum have not been achieved and call for further effort to scale the next peak--military detente. The sceptics, of course, are doubtful. But did they concede the possibility of cooperation among the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition on the battlefield? Or the possibility of holding the all-European conference?

What is it that Europe needs most of all at the present time? The minimum need is to end the further accumulation of nuclear armaments, and the maximum, to reduce the nuclear confrontation on the continent to zero. In a word, what is needed is transition to the reduction of military tension as envisaged by the Final Act. However, the way to this is blocked by the NATO countries, primarily by their nuclear missile "rearmament" decision, and, more recently, by the plans for the militarization of outer space.

It is precisely the USSR and its socialist allies that have advanced a comprehensive constructive programme for military detente in Europe. It calls for:

- elimination of nuclear armaments, both medium-range and tactical;
- elimination of chemical weapons;
- reduction of military spending by both the Warsaw treaty countries and NATO;
- Creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the continent;
- the undertaking by the states of the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons (the USSR already has undertaken that commitment unilaterally);
- the conclusion by the Warsaw Treaty States and NATO of a treaty on the non-use of armed force and the maintenance of relations of peace;
- the successful conclusion of the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe;
- the adoption by the Stockholm conference of a complex of political and military confidence-building measures.

Moreover, on July 29 the Soviet Union announced a unilateral moratorium to begin on August 6 on all nuclear explosions and called on the United States to follow its example.

The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty partners are convinced that the achievement of lasting peace and guaranteed security in Europe is not an illusory hope, not an utopia, but perfectly feasible. To achieve this objective, the European countries must be assured of the inviolability and security of their frontiers and launch out on the reduction of military tension in practical terms, discard the old militarist ballast in the form of projects for "European defense," "reanimation" of the West European Union and militarization of the Common Market, a ballast which threatens, at best, to weigh down even more heavily on interstate relations on the continent and, at worst, impel it into the nuclear abyss.

The objective preconditions for a turn for the better in Europe exist. But they can be utilized only if the European states display realism, farsightedness, and the political will to reach agreement on the decisive problems of war and peace.

What should Europe be like? All postwar hiszbcyhhas conclusively answered this question. A Europe with guaranteed frontiers. A Europe of military detente. A Europe of collective security.

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REVIEW OF JOURNAL AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 5, 1985

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 31 May 85 pp 1-4

[Text] The journal has run an article by Vl. Lee, "The Victory of the Soviet Union and the Development of National Liberation Movement." In summing up the historical results of the many-faceted impact borne by the routing of German Nazism and Japanese militarism on the struggle for liberation waged by the Asian and African peoples, the author writes, it is necessary to highlight the most crucial points which promoted the collapse of imperialism's colonial system.

Firstly, the selfless struggle waged by the Soviet people on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War inspired so a strong desire for independence and freedom in all the regions and countries of the Afro-Asian world, that in the postwar period it acquired a truly irreversible nature. Secondly, the victory over fascism led to a profound moral and political isolation of the advocates of any manifestations of the chauvinistic, colonial and racist ideologies and policies which were condemned as contradicting the basic norms of humanism, democracy and social justice. Thirdly, the routing of the Nazi aggressors in World War II showed in full measure the greatness and significance of the international unity of people's liberation movements, their potential in the joint struggle for the triumph of the ideas of justice, freedom and peace.

During the four postwar decades, Vl. Lee points out, the Afro-Asian world has witnessed some truly epoch-making events: colonialism has collapsed, an influential group of newly free sovereign states of progressive, patriotic, anti-imperialist orientation has emerged, with many newly liberated nations ever more firmly passing over from national liberation to social emancipation and fighting against the local foundations of exploitation, oppression and inequality.

"The Mideast Gripped by the Crisis" is the subject of an article by P. Demchenko. For almost four decades, the author writes, the area remains a seat of crises on our planet. It has lived through five major Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982 and hundreds of minor armed clashes, artillery and rocket duels. Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt (to say nothing of Iraq) today are noted for enhanced military activities. The Arab-Israeli conflict continues to bear its impact, albeit in varying degrees, on all Mideast nations. The situation is being aggravated by the Iran-Iraq war

which makes itself felt in the entire region. So a protracted crisis linked by innumerable threads with the international situation, P. Demchenko maintains, should be attributed to the desire of imperialism, above all, American imperialism, to safeguard its control over the Mideast and its minerals, of which oil is most important. Israel, with its notorious expansionist anti-Arab course, is being used for the purpose.

In the summer of 1984, the author says, the Soviet Union advanced its programme for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. The Soviet proposals are based on the principle of inadmissibility of the seizure of foreign lands by aggression. Hence, the Arabs must get back all their lands occupied since 1967. It is necessary to translate into life the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and creating their own state on the lands which will be liberated from the Israeli invaders.

It is necessary that all the states in the region be granted a real right to safe and independent existence, that the state of war be ended and peace be established between the Arab countries and Israel. Finally, it has been proposed that international guarantees for a settlement be issued, in which the Soviet Union could take part. To provide a leverage for such a settlement it has been proposed that an international conference be convened and attended by all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The great powers also could be invited to attend the conference, as well as some other states, with the consent of the parties involved in the conflict. But that conference must not be used as a smokescreen for any separate deals planned and made beyond its confines. It must be a truly honest and fair settlement of the Mideast problem which would make it possible to put an end to one of the worst conflicts on our planet.

The journal carries an article by A. Kiva, entitled, "Successes and Difficulties on the Road to Genuine Independence." It is devoted to the African Freedom Day, which marks the establishment of the Organization of African Unity on May 25, 1963. The setting up of the OAU was in itself a great achievement of the African states, the article says. The Organization has solved quite a few complicated problems, which involved the mobilization of efforts in support of the peoples fighting the colonial yoke, and the overcoming of a hard colonial heritage, including territorial issues. This testifies to the success of that unique organization.

The major principle underlying all OAU activities, A. Kiva says, is that of anti-imperialism. The latter is known to be manifested in various forms at different stages of the development of national liberation movements, and under varying circumstances. Closely related to anti-imperialism is anti-colonialism, which has been raising the African continent's social forces to fight against direct foreign oppression and for all African countries to gain sovereignty, and is now calling to eliminate the last seat of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa. Non-alignment is another foreign policy principle of the newly emergent African states. Historically, it was aimed against imperialist attempts to draw the states which were getting rid of colonial dependence into imperialist military-political blocs.



Meanwhile this principle was not tantamount to neutrality, which has been proclaimed more than once in the 20th century by one capitalist government or another. Nor did it spell self-isolation for the newly emergent countries, which would only be beneficial for the imperialist forces. On the contrary, the African countries' non-alignment is a positive factor. Cooperating with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and all progressives in the world, independent Africa has won reliable friends. Supported by these friends, the newly emergent states became a substantial force on the international scene, and won an objective opportunity to pursue their independent foreign policies even prior to overcoming their economic dependence on the capitalist centres.

The first years of the current decade have witnessed a global counteroffensive against the national liberation forces, including those in Africa, the author of the article says. But there is no doubt that this imperialist counter-offensive shall be rebuffed, with the backing of the socialist countries and other democratic and peaceloving forces, as has happened more than once since the second world war.

The journal also carries articles by L. Teplinsky ("Non-Aligned Movement, and the United Nations"), Y. Tarabrin ("Neo-Colonialist Tactics Today"), M. Baglai ("For Development in Peace"--on international trade union conference in Delhi on February 1985), and other materials.

(APN)

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NON-ALIGNED STATES SEEN FOLLOWING SOCIALIST BLOC COURSE IN UN

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 85 pp 2-3

[Article by L. Teplinskiy, doctor of historical sciences: "The Movement for Non-Alignment and the United Nations"]

[Text] The accountability report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress said that the movement for non-alignment had been and still was an important part of international relations and that its strength lay in its opposition to imperialism and colonialism, to war and aggression. Congress speakers also said that the Soviet Union would welcome the further augmentation of the non-aligned movement's role in world politics.

During the years since the 26th CPSU Congress, the movement has retained its anti-imperialist, antimilitarist and anticolonial thrust and has thereby proved loyal to its fundamental principles. This is quite definitely attested to by the work and documents of movement forums, particularly the latest--the seventh conference of the heads of state and government of non-aligned countries in New Delhi in March 1983--and by the results of the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly.

Although the decisions of conferences and conventions of non-aligned states are meant to be recommendations, their political importance is unmistakable: The decisions are made with the extensive participation of heads of state and government (for example, 63 countries were represented at the highest level at the seventh conference) and reflect the high level of agreement of the movement's members (the consensus used in the movement allows for reservations on the part of one or a few members).

In the overwhelming majority of cases the non-aligned countries represented at international forums consider world political issues from a position worked out and approved within the movement framework. At the same time, differences in the sociopolitical orientation of the approximately 100 members of the movement (including monarchies with a feudal order, countries taking the capitalist road, socialist-oriented countries and several socialist countries) give rise to different approaches to the problems they encounter.

Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, the PDRY and several other countries, making up the movement's progressive wing, have been the most

consistent defenders of the principles of non-alignment--anti-imperialism, anticolonialism and antimilitarism. A positive role is being played in the movement by India, which has been its chairman since March 1983.

At the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly, the non-aligned countries were actively involved in the search for ways of delivering mankind from the danger of nuclear war. "No country will be able to escape the nuclear conflict once it starts," Indian Foreign Minister R. N. Mirdha said. He underscored the danger of the doctrines of "nuclear deterrence" and "limited nuclear war."

Some 92 non-aligned states approved the resolution on "The Prevention of Nuclear War," which points to the urgent need for maximum effort to consolidate peace and eliminate the threat of war, particularly nuclear war.

The conference of foreign ministers and delegation heads from the non-aligned countries, held during the time of this session, asked all nuclear powers to pledge no first use of nuclear weapons. The socialist countries' draft resolution on "No First Use of Nuclear Weapons" was supported by 80 members of the movement.

The Soviet Union brought up the important and urgent matter of "the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the good of mankind" for discussion at the session. The discussion revealed the serious worries of non-aligned countries in connection with Washington's dangerous plans to extend the arms race to outer space. "The militarization of outer space, which was viewed as science fiction just yesterday, is now virtually a reality and is giving new scope to the arms race and the risk of global annihilation," Tunisian representative K. Sabsi stressed. Many members of the non-aligned movement advocated bilateral and multilateral talks for the prevention of the militarization of space. "Coordinated effort will be needed to prevent the new potentially extremely dangerous and destabilizing round of the arms race represented by space-based weapons," the representative from India said.

The Soviet initiative was supported by the representatives from Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Sri Lanka and many other states. With the active participation of the USSR and other socialist states, the non-aligned countries drafted a resolution on "The Prevention of the Arms Race in Outer Space." It was supported by 150 states, and only the United States abstained from the vote. The actions of the socialist and non-aligned countries in this case served as a vivid illustration of their common position on arms race limitation.

A freeze on the production, accumulation and deployment of nuclear weapons could play the most important role in curbing the race for nuclear arms. An appeal for this is voiced in the communique of the New York conference of non-aligned countries, held at the same time as the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly. The absolute majority of non-aligned countries supported the draft resolution "On a Nuclear Arms Freeze" submitted by India at the session. The resolution was supported by 127 countries, 91 of which are members of the non-aligned movement.

The need for a total ban on nuclear tests was discussed at great length. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries submitted a draft resolution to the session on the immediate cessation and prohibition of tests of nuclear weapons, and it was approved by the majority of non-aligned countries. The General Assembly also passed a resolution submitted by a group of non-aligned states. It contains an appeal for multilateral talks on the prohibition of all nuclear tests so that the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva can submit a complete draft of this kind of treaty to the UN General Assembly. The Soviet Union supported this important initiative.

The 39th Session of the UN General Assembly approved a number of resolutions on the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, particularly the resolution submitted by Cameroon on behalf of the African states regarding the creation of nuclear-free zones in Africa, the Middle East and some other regions.

In addition to discussing nuclear disarmament issues, session participants also considered the limitation of the race for other types of weapons. Resolutions prohibiting radiological weapons, chemical and bacteriological (or biological) weapons, the development and production of new weapons of mass destruction and new weapon systems of this type and nuclear neutron weapons and advocating the limitation of the naval arms race, the limitation and reduction of naval arms, the extension of confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans and so forth were unanimously supported by the non-aligned countries. In all, the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly passed over 60 resolutions advising specific action by states, especially the nuclear powers, to lighten the arms burden. Discussions of these cardinal issues pointed up the pronounced difference between peace-loving states--socialist and non-aligned--and the imperialist powers, headed by the United States, which continued to pursue an obstructionist policy by voting against most of the important resolutions.

The socialist and non-aligned countries resolutely defended the rights of nations against encroachment by imperialist powers. The abovementioned conference of non-aligned countries in New York called upon all states to observe the UN declaration on the impermissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of states. In connection with this, a Soviet-initiated document of exceptional importance and pertinence was adopted at the session--a resolution on the impermissibility of the policy of state terrorism and any efforts by states to undermine the sociopolitical order in other sovereign states, a resolution taking the legitimate interests of the members of the non-aligned movement into account. Representatives from many non-aligned countries spoke of the danger of terrorism, which imperialist groups have raised to the level of state policy for the purpose of imposing their will on other countries and changing their sociopolitical order according to their own wishes. Several delegates put the blame for this directly on the United States. "There has been more and more evidence that state terrorism has become a weapon in U.S. policy against my country," said Afghanistan's Foreign Minister S. M. Dost. The Soviet proposal on the prohibition of state terrorism was widely supported by non-aligned countries. None of them voted against this draft resolution, and it was supported by

117 countries (the United States, its allies and some other countries abstained).

The state of affairs in the world's "hot spots" and the search for ways of regulating explosive situations were discussed at length.

A group of socialist and non-aligned countries submitted a draft resolution requesting all governments to take additional constructive action for the convocation of an international peace conference on the Middle East without delay. This resolution was supported by 121 countries.

The situation in southern Africa was also discussed at the session.

Resolutions submitted by non-aligned countries categorically repudiated all forms of cooperation with Pretoria. One of them, which was adopted in spite of stubborn U.S. resistance, expressed the international community's extreme concern about the lethal threat posed to the cause of peace by Washington's notorious "constructive cooperation" with the apartheid regime, and exposed the United States' mediating role in the expansion of relations between the South African racists and the Israeli Zionists.

Economic issues and problems in the development of mutually beneficial and equitable cooperation between states were prominent on the session agenda.

At this session, the non-aligned states placed special emphasis on the close relationship between disarmament and the economic development of emerging countries. On their initiative, the session supported the idea of a world conference on this matter.

The non-aligned countries supported the resolution submitted by Poland on "The Consolidation of Trust in International Economic Relations." It expresses concern about the effects of political friction on international economic cooperation and the deterioration of the international situation and conditions in the world economy and also requests all states to continue the exchange of views on ways of strengthening trust in international economic relations.

Members of the movement voted for the resolution submitted by Cuba to condemn the use of economic measures as a means of political and economic coercion against developing countries.

Although some non-aligned countries did not display a politically realistic approach to some points on the session agenda (for example, the so-called "Afghan" and "Cambodian" issues) as a result of pressure or due to their dependence on Western imperialist powers, there is no question that the contribution of members of the non-aligned movement to the work of the session was positive in general.

Cooperation by socialist and non-aligned countries on the international scene, including the United Nations, is an important factor contributing to the development of international cooperation, the cessation of the arms race, the resolution of conflicts in various parts of the world and the consolidation of world peace.

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ASIAN TRADE UNIONS MEET IN DELHI, SUPPORT NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 85 pp 7-9

[Article by M. Baglay, doctor of juridical sciences (Delhi-Moscow): "For Development in Peace"]

[Excerpts] Labor unions are an effective and reliable force for a just economic order in the world. Trade unions in the socialist countries and the majority of developing countries and many associations of blue- and white-collar workers in capitalist states actively support the 1974 UN declaration and program on the establishment of a new international economic order and advocate the quickest possible eradication of the economic underdevelopment of developing countries and the related poverty, hunger and unemployment.

Problems in the establishment of the new international economic order were first discussed by trade unions at a world conference on development in Belgrade in 1980.

Another important event was the trade-union forum in Delhi in February 1985, which was attended by more than 100 representatives of 21 countries, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Peace Council and several international organizations (ILO, UNIDO, FAO and UN Development Program). The socialist countries were represented at the conference by trade-union members from the USSR, DPRK, Mongolia, Vietnam and Laos; members of unions in Australia, New Zealand and Japan represented the capitalist countries; the developing countries were represented by union members from India, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Cambodia, New Caledonia, Thailand, the Solomon Islands, Nepal and Papua New Guinea.

Unions belonging to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the World Confederation of Labor (WCL) and autonomous labor organizations were represented at the conference along with members of the WFTU. This attests to the common interest of trade unions, regardless of their prevailing political ideology, in the resolution of development problems and the establishment of a new international economic order.

It was no coincidence that the conference in Delhi and the issues discussed at the conference aroused widespread international interest. Prime Minister R. Gandhi of India sent a message to the conference to say that the establishment of a new international economic order is particularly important

today. Mankind is spending huge sums on weapons, and this is undermining the development process. The prime minister asked conference participants to give primary attention to the problems of keeping the peace and securing socioeconomic progress. The general secretaries of the United Nations, FAO, ESCAP and UNESCO also sent messages to the labor forum in Delhi.

The preparatory committee drafted a basic document analyzing the current economic development of the Asian region. Conference participants agreed unanimously that economic conditions in the developing countries are deteriorating. This is primarily reflected in the low growth rates of national industry. It is also reflected in the reduction of exports, the effective non-fulfillment of commitments assumed by capitalist countries with regard to development aid, the rapid growth of the foreign debt of developing countries and their stronger dependence on the International Monetary Fund and on private banks extending loans on inconvenient terms. The high interest rates set by the U.S. administration are raising the cost of credit and services and increasing the flow of finances out of the developing countries, and this is diminishing their opportunities to establish an independent economy.

General Secretary V. P. Ganesan of the Sri Lanka Democratic Workers Congress remarked that his country's transition to a so-called "free economy" after 1977 opened the door to cheap goods from the Western countries and Japan, leading to a crisis in local industry, which was incapable of competing with imports. The national currency was seriously devalued, the cost of living rose quickly and enterprises in the state sector were denationalized. "These are the results of the free economy in our country," the delegate from Sri Lanka said.

Plans for development based on foreign capital investments were criticized by M. Habibur, representing one of the central labor organizations in Bangladesh.

The "development" model imperialism is imposing on the young states is doing nothing to promote increased employment in them, and this has a particularly severe effect on the interests of the laboring public at a time of rapid population growth.

Hunger and poverty are still acute problems in the developing countries, engendered by their dependence on the imperialist powers. President R. Cara of the National Labor Congress of the Philippines said that 70.6 percent of the population in his country is living below the official poverty level, and in Nepal, according to the statistics of the Federation of Trade Unions, around 60 percent of the population is in this position. Poverty is the state of millions of people in Bangladesh and many other countries in the region.

Conference participants discussed the negative effects of the operations of transnational corporations in developing countries. Although Western propaganda praises the supposedly "beneficial" effect of TNC's on their economy, especially on employment figures, the workers actually believe the opposite. Suffice it to say that TNC's employ only 1 or 2 percent of the entire labor force in India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Thailand. Besides this,

the penetration of the Asian continent by corporations, especially American and Japanese ones, is causing the disorganization and deformation of the national economy in some countries.

Representatives of trade unions in the socialist states made a constructive contribution to the conference. They spoke of the dynamic development of the economies in their countries and of the enhanced welfare of workers. The speech by Secretary K. Zardyhan of the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions, in which he spoke of his country's experience in making the transition to socialism without going through the capitalist stage, aroused particular interest.

The socialist countries and their trade unions support the developing countries' progressive demands in their struggle for economic decolonization and for complete sovereignty over their natural and other resources.

They acknowledge the validity of the demands of Asian, African and Latin American countries that the states to blame for their current difficulties, the imperialist powers, extend more resources to them to compensate them for the losses they suffered as a result of colonial robbery and neocolonial exploitation, lighten the debt burden of developing states and facilitate their access to international sources of credit.

Representatives from Afghanistan and Cambodia spoke of the resolution of development problems under the conditions of a popular government. Many conference participants noted the importance of the assistance rendered by the USSR and other socialist countries in the consolidation of the national economies of developing states and of the socialist countries' role in the struggle to establish a just economic order in the world. It is known that trade unions in several capitalist countries have not displayed a full awareness of the global nature of this problem. It is no coincidence that President C. Mishra of the All-India Trade Union Congress advised all trade unions in the West that the establishment of the new order would be in their interests as well because it could guarantee a larger market for the products of their countries and thereby increase employment.

The rights of trade unions were discussed by several delegates because the absence of such rights seriously complicates the working public's struggle for development and a new economic order. The situation in some developing Asian countries in this sphere is often simply catastrophic. For example, the military administration in Pakistan has flagrantly disregarded the rights of trade unions and prohibited strikes. An anti-union policy is being pursued by ruling circles in Malaysia, the Philippines and several other countries. The TNC's are trying to prohibit trade unions in "free trade zones." Loans from the IMF and the IBRD are often made conditional upon this demand. All of this seriously complicates union activity and inhibits the growth and unification of union membership.

The conference resolved to create a coordinating committee of trade unions of Asia and Oceania with a headquarters in Delhi for the implementation of a conference-approved program of action.



Representatives of trade unions in Asia and Oceania stressed the need for a more highly coordinated position on the international level to secure the adoption of a code of TNC behavior in the United Nations and more effective ILO measures in defense of their demands.

The conference in Delhi concluded with the adoption of a declaration stating the position of the labor movement in Asia and Oceania on the issues of development and the new international economic order.

The declaration says that "collective action by trade unions of all countries, regardless of their social systems and levels of development, is necessary and vitally important for the attainment of common goals. Acts of solidarity with those fighting for national independence or defending it and with those fighting for democratic rights and freedoms are particularly important in today's world." These and other statements in the declaration are intended to unify the labor movement and augment its potential in the struggle to solve one of mankind's most acute global problems.

More active struggle by trade unions for a just economic order will require the elaboration of a precise alternative strategy. Many speakers noted that only unity can make it effective. It is no secret that the resistance of the undemocratic behavior of business associations, TNC's, the IMF and the IBRD has been weakened considerably by the insufficient coordination of collective action by trade unions and organizations of peasants, working women, youth and others.

The forum in Delhi was an important event for the trade unions of Asia and Oceania and the entire international union movement. The conference demonstrated the laboring public's willingness to fight against the omnipotence of capital and for peace and social progress.

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## INDIA'S POST-INDIRA POLITICAL COURSE FAVORABLY EVALUATED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 85 pp 34-35

[Article by E. Komarov, candidate of historical sciences: "India. Continuity in Policy"]

[Text] The Indian policy line announced by Jawaharlal Nehru and continued by Indira Gandhi was opposed from the very beginning by internal reaction and foreign imperialist groups because it was designed to eradicate the colonial-feudal heritage, limit the economic power of local and foreign monopolies, strengthen the national independence and heighten the independent positive role of India on the international scene as the largest non-aligned state in Asia and develop all-round mutually beneficial cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries. The national leadership and progressive democratic forces fought a persistent political struggle to overcome the opposition of reactionary groups within the country and withstood the pressure of foreign imperialist groups by relying on the traditions of the national liberation movement and the support of the broad masses.

At the end of 1984 India suffered a tragedy--the villainous assassination of its outstanding national leader, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Hostile forces, internal and external, linked this action with their criminal hope of undermining India's unity and territorial integrity and of changing its domestic and foreign policy line. But this hope could not come true. The attempts to use the national tragedy to sow murderous enmity between religious communities, destabilize the political situation and force the country to give up its chosen course failed. The decisive action of the government, headed by Rajiv Gandhi, and the determination of the broad masses to defend India's national unity prevented this dangerous turn of events.

The December 1984 parliamentary elections clearly showed that the Indian people firmly support the unity of their country and the continuation of its previous domestic and foreign policy line. The ruling party, the Indian National Congress (I), with Rajiv Gandhi as its leader, won the most impressive victory in the independent state's entire history by winning the support of 49 percent of the voters and over 79 percent of the deputy seats in the people's (lower) chamber of the Indian Parliament. The addition of the votes received by Communists (around 9 percent) and other leftist and democratic parties clearly indicates that the overwhelming majority of voters

definitely and unequivocally favor the continuation of the policy line of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. There has been a perceptible decrease in the number of deputies from almost all opposition parties in the lower chamber (40 percent in all), and rightwing parties are almost totally devoid of representation.

During the campaign the INC(I) proposed a positive domestic and foreign policy program. The main domestic policy objective was declared to be the maintenance and consolidation of national unity and territorial integrity. As for socioeconomic development, it was announced quite definitely that the state sector is the main instrument in the acceleration of industrialization and the reduction of the concentration of wealth and power within the hands of big business and that it would be developed in new industries using modern technology and in consumer goods production. The campaign manifesto also said that effective agrarian reforms and measures in the interests of the rural poor would be instituted, although it did not describe them in detail.

The INC (I) won its greatest election victories in the states where it was opposed primarily by conservative parties, such as the Bharatiya Janata Party (formerly Jana Sangh) and Dalit Mazdur Kisan Party (formerly Lok Dal), which campaign against, although not as zealously as in the recent past, the further development of the state sector and the institution of agrarian reforms in the interests of the rural poor and advocated loyalty to communalism, traditional religious differences and caste differences, which they are trying to adapt to changing conditions, resorting to subtle social demagogy in an effort to disguise their reactionary ideological aims. They lost almost all of their representation in the lower chamber. In general, however, rightwing forces, which include a multitude of other, smaller political organizations and communalist and caste groups in addition to the abovementioned parties, were able to win the support of around 20 percent of the voters.

The causes of the diminished support of these parties stem largely from objective socioeconomic processes in the Indian society. The industrial development of the country has naturally made the laboring public more active politically, especially the traditionally oppressed rural and urban poor from the lowest castes, particularly the harijans ("untouchables"), who were passive and obedient in the recent past. This change has mainly affected the states where rightwing parties were most active. Now the poor, most of whom live in rural areas (the rural poor represent around half of the approximately 375 million voters), are more likely to refuse to vote under the pressure and on the orders of the upper echelon of landowners and rich peasants, who are often members of rightwing parties, especially in the underdeveloped states. Most of the voters from this underprivileged group supported the INC (I) in the election. Besides this, it was supported by the overwhelming majority of young members of urban and rural middle strata, who previously supported rightwing parties for various reasons, including religious-communal and caste traditions. The triumph of Rajiv Gandhi's party was also largely due to the support of women, who chose this way of expressing their affection for the tragically murdered Indira Gandhi.

Although the INC (I) won a great majority in states where it was opposed by rightwing parties, most of its other victories were less dramatic, and in

some states (West Bengal, Tripura and three others) it was defeated. Here the INC (I) was mainly opposed either by bourgeois reformist parties (including so-called regional parties, active only in a single state) or by Communists in an alliance with other leftist forces (as in West Bengal and Tripura).

In these states, which are the most highly developed in general, parties are capable of competing independently with the INC (I), winning local elections and forming local governments, most of which are unipartisan, and here the INC (I), which is the ruling party in the "center," must represent the main opposition force.

Judging by the bloody conflicts in Punjab in 1983 and 1984 and the events following Indira Gandhi's assassination, provoked by separatists and their foreign patrons, only the INC (I), with its influence throughout India, is capable of securing the unity of this huge multinational country. Other bourgeois (opposition) parties are incapable of doing this. The influence of even the largest of them extends to 3 or 4 of the 22 Indian states at most. They cannot oppose the INC (I) in the majority of states or on the national level.

In general, the elections strengthened national unity, and there is no question that this will aid in the resolution of India's complex socioeconomic problems, weaken forces for dissent and deter tendencies toward communalism, caste exclusivity and separatism. "Our burden is great and our path is a long and difficult one," Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said in a public address after the elections. "The struggle against our old enemies--poverty, unemployment, disease and ignorance--will continue."

During the campaign the INC (I) announced its firm intention to pursue a policy of non-alignment, peace and friendship and to develop cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries. Virtually no large opposition political party dared to openly oppose the national leadership's chosen line of foreign policy and mutually beneficial Indian-Soviet cooperation, although this kind of opposition was expressed in the past. The traditions of Indian-Soviet friendship are firmly established in the Indian public mind, will aid in the future economic development of India and will serve the vital interests of the people of both countries and the cause of world peace.

Commercial, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and India, based on the principles of equality, mutual advantage and non-intervention in one another's internal affairs, has always played an important role in the establishment and reinforcement of the republic's economic independence and the development of several leading sectors of its national economy. It began in February 1955 when an intergovernmental agreement was signed on aid to India in the construction of a metallurgical combine in Bhilai. Over the past 30 years it has displayed continuous improvement and reinforcement and has extended to more and more sectors. It now includes the establishment of interrelated multi-purpose industrial complexes using the most advanced technology, with a higher percentage of Indian equipment and designs. New spheres of cooperation are space exploration and several other fields of modern science and technology.

Today facilities built in India with the aid of the USSR produce around 40 percent of India's cast iron and steel, almost 80 percent of its metallurgical equipment, more than 40 percent of its mining equipment, over 55 percent of its power engineering equipment, 10 percent of its electricity and much of its petroleum, petroleum products, coal, instruments, medicine and other products.

The joint construction of several other large facilities has been planned for the 1980's, including a metallurgical plant in Vishakhapatnam, a bauxite enterprise in Andhra Pradesh, heat and electric power stations and several others.

Political cooperation by the Soviet Union and India, based on their common or similar views on fundamental international issues, has always played an important role in securing world peace and in the struggle for the eradication of colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. It is particularly significant at this time, now that the arms race of imperialist circles, headed by the United States, has led to the dangerous escalation of international tension.

People in the Soviet Union respect India's constructive contribution to the overall effort to guarantee peace and security and have expressed the certainty that the time-honored Soviet-Indian friendship will continue to develop and grow stronger.

Colossal changes have taken place in India during its years of independence. The policy line initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru and continued by Indira Gandhi promoted its national regeneration, the growth of its economic strength and the enhancement of its international prestige. The country's independent national development is delivering more and more segments of the popular masses from their age-old servility and is making them more active politically. This is one of independent India's important achievements and a guarantee of its future progress.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SADAT'S ISLAMIC POLICIES CRITICIZED, SERVED POLITICAL AIMS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 85 pp 36-39

[Article by Yu. Sedov: "Egypt. Sadat's Card Is Beaten"]

[Text] Back in 1914 Academician V. V. Bartold wrote that Islam is used "always as a doctrine more political than religious, and mainly as a means of attaining specific political goals."<sup>1</sup> Today the "politicization" of Islam is distinguished by particular intensity, mainly in connection with the exacerbation of socioeconomic problems in Muslim countries actively seeking patterns of future development, the intensification of the class struggle and the anti-imperialist liberation movement in these countries and the evolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although the potential of progressive social currents operating under Islamic slogans has not been exhausted, there is the great danger today that reactionary forces might manipulate religion for anti-democratic purposes. This is what the Iranian theocracy is doing now, and this is what infamous Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was doing before.

Sadat took power on a wave of Islamic fundamentalism after (and largely as a result of) the Arab defeat in the 1967 war. Representing the "Islamic voice" of the regime in Nasir's time,<sup>2</sup> he gained the reputation of a deeply religious man and later made religion one of his political weapons when he took office as president. Sadat's aim of the broader Islamization of public life was supposed to balance his pro-Western "new line,"<sup>3</sup> which was notoriously unpopular among the Arabs, and simultaneously justify the break with the socialist countries, where, as he said, the "atheistic" ideology prevailed.

Viewing Nasirists and communists as the main obstacle impeding the reorientation of Egyptian policy, the "devout" president accused them of atheism to turn all of the "religious wrath" of the Egyptian public against them. He also tried to make use of the objective growth of Islamic sentiments "from below" (which were, incidentally, essentially anti-Western), the belief of rightwing Muslim religious leaders that communism and Islam were irreconcilable enemies both in ideology and in economics and, finally, the heightened activity of religious groups with fundamentalist leanings. In particular, Sadat granted some freedom of action to the Muslim Brotherhood, took a tolerant view of extremist organizations ("al Takfir wa-al-Hijrah," "Junud Allah" and others) and played up to Muslim student associations. According to reports in the Western press, he gave some conservative Islamic organizations money and even weapons in secret.

Obviously, this was not done for the sake of religion itself. For example, when Sadat tried to establish a good relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood, going so far as to even express his willingness to form an alliance with it against "communism and atheism," he was hoping to win the favor of Riyadh, the patron of fundamentalists, and to secure increased Saudi financial aid to Egypt.

Sadat's attempts to form a closer relationship with Riyadh on religious grounds led to several inconveniences. Conservative Saudi Muslim groups had an opportunity for broader contact with Egyptian religious leaders, including "their man" in the upper echelon, Shaykh 'Abd-al-Halim Mahmud from the al-Azhar Theological University in Cairo. Acting as their lobbyist, he promoted the growth of the influence of Islamic groups in government establishments and press organs and took a firm stand against some aspects of Sadat's "liberalization." This complicated Cairo's turn toward the West and heightened the potential of the Muslim Brotherhood, which later became a powerful opposition force. In the main respect, however, Mahmud justified the regime's hopes: The shaykh made public announcements that "communism is evil, it is a sign of ignorance and it cannot coexist with Islam in one country."

Islamization was conducted on the most dramatic scales in the army, which in Egypt, just as in many other young states, was the most highly organized, effective and modern social force. Whereas in Nasir's time the significance of the 1952 revolution and of cooperation with the USSR were actively propagandized in the army, all of the ideological training of personnel under the Sadat government was confined to the fueling of religious fanaticism, rabid chauvinism and anticommunism among the soldiers. This naturally brings to mind K. Marx' statement that "all of the history of civilian society is summarized with amazing clarity in the history of the army"<sup>4</sup>! Considerable effort was made to praise the military leadership qualities of the "devout" commander-in-chief, President Sadat, and the courage and bravery of the "fighters for Islam" during the period of the caliphate.

During the October war of 1973, the very name of the operation to force the Suez Canal, "Badr" (this was the name of the prophet Muhammad's first decisive victory over the Meccans), was supposed to be enough to raise the morale of Egyptian troops. It was no coincidence that it was scheduled for the holy month of Ramadan. According to TIME, the American magazine, the soldiers who crossed the canal, shouting "Allah is great!", and took the Israeli "Bar-Levi line" by storm, later declared that they saw angels fighting next to them.

The first Egyptian flag raised on the east bank was later presented to the supreme shaykh of al-Azhar. The ulemaa regarded the outcome of the operation as a major milestone in Islamic history and the greatest Arab military achievement since 1187, when Salah-al-Din [Saladin] defeated the crusaders near Hittin and took Jerusalem away from them. Many Egyptians who regained their sense of national pride believed that their country and army were guided by divine providence.

"War," V. I. Lenin said, "does not in itself change the direction of pre-war policy, but merely accelerates its move in this direction."<sup>5</sup> This is

precisely what the October armed conflict did. Although its results objectively created favorable conditions for a more active struggle against the aggressors, the war-accelerated reorientation of Egyptian policy had serious negative implications--the conclusion of the Camp David bargain, the isolation of Egypt in the Arab world and the split of the latter, the intensification of Israeli aggression, the expansion of the U.S. military presence in the region, etc.

With the aid of the obedient Muslim establishment, Sadat dressed "new" political and socioeconomic ideas in traditional garb and made references to religious theories to conceal his real aims. But whereas this tactic had been of considerable help to him in avoiding public dissatisfaction and winning the support of the main currents of the Islamic movement in the first years after the war, over the long range it became one of the factors leading Sadat into a blind alley.

Therefore, the 1973 war accelerated the pro-Western "maturation" of the Egyptian president, who felt strong enough, after taking the credit for the success of Arab arms, to launch an attack on Nasir's entire political and socioeconomic structure. By summer 1977 he had completed its disintegration and had essentially established a military-police dictatorship with a multi-partisan facade. The Egyptian economy "opened its door" to foreign capital. After determining that the home front was secure, Sadat went to Jerusalem on a "historic mission" in November 1977 with Washington's blessing, in September 1978 he signed the Camp David accords, and in March 1979 he signed a separate "peace treaty" with Israel.

But neither this "peace" nor Sadat's domestic policy could or did bring Egypt the promised prosperity and social equality. Muslim opposition forces grew more active in the atmosphere of acute socioeconomic conflict and loud Egyptian protests against convergence with Israel at the cost of severed relations with almost all Arab countries. Far from religious topics began to be discussed in mosques, most of which were not controlled by the regime.

Before Sadat went to Jerusalem, the religious organizations opposing him were only extremist groups with no broad popular base. But even they made themselves known from time to time. In July 1977 the members of "al-Takfir wa-al-Hijrah" kidnapped and killed Shaykh Dhahabi, who symbolized the regime-controlled official Islam to them. It is interesting that Sadat grew less tolerant of the activities of Islamic extremists as he went further in developing a relationship with Israel. For example, the trial of Dhahabi's kidnappers ended soon after the president's return from Jerusalem (in late November and early December 1977) with the passage of severe sentences on behalf of the "community of true Muslim believers," which was supposed to signal the defense of official Islam against heretics succumbing to the "devil's embraces."

The regime's relationship with the most influential religious organization in the country, the Muslim Brotherhood, was actually based on the principles of "peaceful coexistence." In 1976 Sadat allowed the brotherhood, not without pressure from Saudi Arabia, to publish two journals--AL-DA'WAH and AL-I'TISAM.



Until the conclusion of the Egyptian-Israeli bargain, they did not take too many liberties in criticizing the government and they launched a campaign to remove Nasirists from the administration and to break up the National Progressive (leftist) Party, whose atheistic nature, in their opinion, contradicted the constitutional designation of Islam as the state religion. In this respect, they sang in unison with the official religious leaders, in spite of the pronounced differences between these leaders and the brotherhood on other matters.

After November 1977, religious leaders obedient to the regime found enough arguments in Islamic doctrine to justify the "peace" with Israel. "The ulemaa of al-Azhar," a fetwa issued in May 1979 said, "are certain that the Egyptian-Israeli treaty meets the requirements of Islamic law. It was concluded from a position of strength after Egypt's holy battle and victory in the Ramadan war." The prophet Muhammad's agreement with the Meccans in 628 was cited as a precedent. Examples were cited of his tolerant treatment of the "people of the book"--Jews--as well as a quotation from the Koran: "And if they lean toward peace, then you should lean toward them and rely on Allah," etc. Spokesmen for official Islam declared that Sadat was "the master of the situation" and the only man with the right to make decisions of governmental significance. The praise of the president's "peacemaking" efforts was combined with propaganda about the Egyptians' superiority to other Arabs and with the cultivation of Egyptian chauvinism as a counterbalance to Arab nationalism.

But there was no longer even a trace of the previous relative loyalty of the Muslim Brotherhood, which now found Sadat's actions completely contrary to Islam. Articles in AL-DA'WAH categorically repudiated the haggling over occupied Arab territories, especially Islamic holy places in Jerusalem, and cited numerous examples from the Koran, the life of the prophet and Islamic history to prove the "impossibility of living in peace with the Jews." Sadat's boomerang was already returning....

The Iranian revolution gave new momentum to the fundamentalist movement in Egypt (and throughout the rest of the Muslim world). People in Tehran did not conceal their interest in a turn of events resulting eventually in the replacement of the secular government in Egypt with a religious one. According to the 25 February 1979 issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES, officials from the Iranian leadership regarded Egypt as "the most vulnerable country from the standpoint of an Islamic rebellion similar to the one that drove out the shah."

Of course, the religious situation of that time in Egypt was not that similar to the pre-revolutionary situation in Iran. Whereas the Iranian Shiite leaders had opposed the government for a long time, Egyptian Sunnite ulemaa "were still subordinate to the state in the 19th century and, with few exceptions, have functioned as its officials since that time."<sup>6</sup> For this reason, the opposition potential of Egyptian Islam was much weaker.

Nevertheless, Sadat learned a lesson from the Iranian revolution and began to limit the political influence of his exalted religion to show the West, with which he had openly begun cooperating, the "similarity" of the Egyptian social system to the systems in capitalist countries. Until the end of his life, he

desperately tried, but failed, to escape the clutches of this contradiction. Camp David represented something of a watershed in the regime's relations with the religious opposition, which was virtually unanimous in viewing the separate "peace" as a betrayal of the common Arab cause and a betrayal of Islam. Lebanese Prime Minister S. Wazzan's statement that "Camp David killed Sadat" later became a catch-word.

As Egypt slid further into the morass of the treaty with Israel, the scales of the Muslim Brotherhood's anti-Sadat demonstrations expanded, and by 1981 it was vehemently attacking the regime's policy in all areas.

One of the main factors contributing to the brotherhood's evolution was Riyadh's negative attitude toward the Camp David bargain in the form in which Sadat had concluded it. In principle, the Saudi leaders' class interests gave them no reason to object to a settlement of the Camp David type, but since Saudi Arabia was aspiring to the leadership of the Arab and Muslim world and had to take the sentiments of the popular masses into account after the Iranian revolution, it could not give up the demands for the return of occupied Arab territories on the West Bank of the Jordan, especially East Jerusalem, the location of the third most important Islamic holy place--the al-Aqsa mosque. "Now that the flames of Islam are flaring up everywhere," the French weekly NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR remarked, "any support for Sadat's sacrilegious initiative is out of the question.... The Saudis have had to harden their hearts and support the plan of the 'steadfast' in Baghdad (regarding the isolation and boycotting of Egypt--Yu. S.)." Sadat, who had won many points in Riyadh for his anticommunism and his flattery of Islam, lost much of his Saudi support, and in April 1979 Saudi Arabia and almost all other Arab states broke off relations with Egypt.

The vehement criticism of Camp David by the Islamic movements and by the Iranian revolution cooled Sadat's "religious ardor" and he put forth the slogan "No politics in religion, no religion in politics." By May 1979 he refused to allow candidates from the Muslim Brotherhood--along with communists--to run for the Egyptian People's Assembly, and soon afterward he banned the brotherhood-controlled Islamic student associations, which had managed to gain control over almost all student unions in the country in the previous 4 years.

No matter how hard the authorities tried to prevent the creation of anti-government groups in the army, opposition ideas, including those in religious garb, grew increasingly popular there as well. The regime was particularly worried about the support of the Islamic movement by military cadets, most of whom came from rural areas, and about the objections of many young officers to the "peace" with Israel. Fundamentalist slogans accusing the president of "betraying the army and the nation" and appealing for the total rejection of the "Western way of life" became popular among the officers. Paris' LE MONDE reported arrests of servicemen who had listened to imams preaching against the Egyptian-Israeli settlement. LIBERATION reported the discovery of a Muslim Brotherhood network in the army.

In fall 1981 Sadat banned this organization and ordered the arrest of many of its leaders. Another 1,500 members of the opposition, mainly from leftist

groups, were arrested at the same time, several press organs were banned, the majority of private mosques were put under state control and sermons were subject to censorship.

These repressive measures undermined the view, cultivated by Sadat in the West for decades, of Egypt as a "stronghold of democracy" in the Arab world and proved how strong the opposition to Camp David was in the country. As Israel's JERUSALEM POST remarked, however, the fact that these measures were taken a week after Sadat's meeting with Begin in Alexandria indicated the Egyptian president's determination to continue developing relations with Tel Aviv, in spite of internal opposition and the dissatisfaction of Arab countries.

Religious conflicts between Muslims and Copts--Monophysite Christians numbering 3-5 million in Egypt--served as the official pretext for the repressive measures. Although Sadat himself and his propaganda machine appealed for "national peace," an analysis of these events indicates that the religious strife was inspired from above, in line with the "divide and conquer" principle. Stimulated by the regime, it diverted the energy of the Islamic movement away from antigovernment demonstrations and directed it into the fight with the Christians, and also provided an excuse to suppress all opposition. Religious conflicts had usually flared up in Egypt whenever Sadat's policy experienced its latest crisis or whenever he was preparing for his latest capitulation.

The main reason for the authorities' animosity toward the Copts was the categorical refusal of their leader--Pope Shenouda--to accept the Camp David agreement. Shenouda refused to revive the Coptic pilgrimages to Jerusalem after the "normalization" of Egypt's relations with Israel, stating that he did "not want the Egyptian Copts to be regarded as traitors by the Arabs after relations with Arab countries return to normal." He also sent letters to several prominent Copts in the government to advise them to dissociate themselves to some degree from the development of Egyptian-Israeli contacts, as this could evoke an undesirable response from Copts in Egypt and the rest of the world.

Sadat's frenzied preventive measures turned out to be futile. On 6 October 1981 he was killed by religious extremists during a parade on the anniversary of the October War. During the subsequent investigation, the leader of the group of assassins, 24-year-old Senior Lieutenant Khalid al-Islambuli, stated their three main motives: the existence of legislation in the country contrary to the laws of Islam, the separate treaty with Israel and the arrests of Muslim activists. In court, after he had been sentenced to death, he said: "I have been accused of murdering an infidel, and I am proud of this."

In the words of renowned Egyptian writer and journalist M. Haykal, author of the book "Autumn of Wrath. The History of the Beginning and End of Anwar Sadat," many Egyptians regard Islambuli and the other conspirators as national heroes.

We can assume that the existence of Islamic opposition in the Egyptian armed forces (just as its growing influence in Egyptian society in general) disturbed

Washington even earlier. According to an AP report of 14 October 1981, an American diplomat in Cairo had a special assignment to analyze the religious movement's influence among army personnel. The Beirut journal AL-MUSTAQBAL reported that Washington, "seriously worried about the loyalty of the Egyptian army to the regime," informed H. Mubarak, the new president, of "the infiltration of the armed forces and police by members of Muslim extremist groups and other opposition currents." This came as no surprise to the Egyptian authorities: A thorough investigation after Sadat's assassination revealed contacts between Islamic extremists and the military, including army secret service personnel. The armed forces were purged.

These and other measures to neutralize the Islamic movement in Egypt did not, however, reduce its activity, and this was attested to by the Egyptian public's reaction to the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in 1982. The "moderate opposition" demanded the curtailment of relations with Tel Aviv, and the religious opposition advised that a "holy war" be declared on Israel.

In the opinion of West German researcher G. Kramer, who wrote an article on "Egypt under Mubarak" for the 1983 third quarterly issue of the French journal POLITIQUES ETRANGERES, "the most serious threat to the existing system...is still posed by extremist Islamic groups," although they are being persecuted more severely than before. As THE NEW YORK TIMES reported in December 1983, despite the fact that "the government kept a watchful eye on Sunnite fundamentalists, they continued to exert strong pressure." Supreme Justice S. al-Ashmawi of the Cairo criminal court said that the appeal of the Muslim Brotherhood, one of the most active fundamentalist groups in Egypt, for the establishment of Islamic law in the country was acquiring the nature of a political slogan.

In the struggle against the Islamic opposition, H. Mubarak used repressive measures and tried to separate its "incorrigible extremists" from its "moderate" elements rejecting violence as a method of domestic political activity. During the first year after Sadat's assassination, around 4,000 "moderate" Muslim activists were released from prison and were given an opportunity to publicly state their views on "true" Islam.

Special attention is being paid to young people, who have, according to the national leadership, "been misled" and are inclined to engage in political violence under Islamic slogans. To show them the "right way," the number of hours of instruction in the Koran in academic institutions and of religious programs on radio and television has been increased. The ruling National Democratic Party and the opposition Socialist Liberal Party are publishing the religious weeklies AL-LIWA 'AL-ISLAMI and AL-NUR.

The authorities have also resumed the attempts to court some opposition Islamic groups in Egypt. In June 1983, after 9 years of denials and procrastination, they authorized the creation of a new party--"al-Ummah." Its leader, 68-year-old Ahmad al-Sibahi 'Abdallah, denies that it is a religious party (the formation of parties on a religious basis is prohibited in Egypt), but has nevertheless declared its main goal to be "the amendment of the constitution with an article making the Shari'at the main source of legislation...because this, and only this, can save us from all difficulties and deprivations."

He advocated the establishment of a worldwide Islamic spiritual authority with the title "imam of the Muslims" and the appointment of this individual as prime minister of Egypt. Islamic fundamentalism, which was first encouraged and then suppressed by Sadat, has not laid down its arms.

Sadat's attitude toward religion stemmed exclusively from political-class considerations, but he obviously underestimated the contradictory nature of its effects on social development. The support of conservative Muslim groups temporarily facilitated the struggle against leftist forces opposing the departure from the socialist orientation, but the attempts to win the trust of the capitalist world by establishing a pro-Western "democracy" demanded the restriction of Islam's role in national affairs. The "Westernization" of Egypt led to the unavoidable exacerbation of social and property inequality, and this was contrary to Muslim egalitarian principles. Public dissatisfaction was heightened by Sadat's pretense of piety against the background of the luxury in which he and his coterie were immersed, and by the hopeless penury of the laboring people. The Camp David bargain, which was viewed both as a national humiliation and as a "mortal sin" against Allah, was the catalyst for the protests of the Egyptian public.

In the final analysis, Sadat, who was unable to escape the vicious circle he himself had created, could be described in metaphorical terms as a man who sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. V. Bartold, "Soch." [Works], vol VI, Moscow, 1960, p 402.
2. E. Mortimer, "Faith and Power. The Politics of Islam," London, 1982, p 287.
3. In this article we will not discuss the social-class roots of this policy because they have been explained by Soviet researchers in numerous publications. See, for example, A. Vasilyev and P. Perminov, "Egypt. Revolution and Counterrevolution," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1982, No 7.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 29, p 154.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27, p 269.
6. M. Kramer, "Political Islam," London, 1920, p 63.

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JAPAN-USSR SYMPOSIUM ON ASIAN SECURITY, IMPROVING RELATIONS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 85 pp 47-49

[Article by S. Verbitskiy, candidate of historical sciences: "Dialogue in Hakone"]

[Excerpts] We went to Japan to attend a Japanese-Soviet symposium on security in Asia. It was held in the Kawakuen Hotel, on a hill in Hakone National Park. The fresh air, gentle green slopes and invigorating sulfur springs of this region attract visitors from Tokyo, especially during the hot months of the year.

New developments in world politics have motivated Japan's leaders to take a more sober look at Japanese-Soviet relations, which are in a fairly "stagnant" state, and not through the fault of the USSR.

Therefore, it could be said that the atmosphere of the symposium in Hakone was influenced by "two winds": the cold wind created by Japan's lengthy involvement in the global anti-Soviet strategy, and the warmer wind created by certain changes in the international situation and in Japanese politics. All of this naturally affected the nature of the discussion and the attitude of symposium participants toward the topics discussed.

The delegation of Soviet scientists was headed by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. F. Kim. The Japanese delegation was made up of the leaders of the academic, journalistic and military communities. It was headed by T. Nakagawa, formerly the ambassador to the USSR and now the director of the Japan Institute of International Relations.

Most of the reports and speeches presented at the meeting dealt with the causes of the escalation of international tension, security issues in the Pacific region and the state of Soviet-Japanese relations. The complexity of these topics and the position taken by the members of the Japanese delegation representing conservative academic and political groups caused the discussion to become quite heated at times.

The Soviet side stressed that the main reason for the escalation of tension in the world is the American administration's plan to continue the arms race, especially in the nuclear sphere, and the "crusade" against the Soviet Union.

This policy poses a grave danger to the Pacific region. American nuclear strength is being built up in this region, and some countries in this part of the world are involved in U.S. nuclear strategy. In effect, Washington's Asian allies have turned into its nuclear hostages and no longer have a chance to make decisions about the future of their people in extreme situations. It is quite understandable that the USSR cannot remain indifferent to the American administration's plans to extend the arms race to the Far East and must therefore fortify the defense of its own Far Eastern border.

In general, the Japanese side adhered to the traditional "Western" interpretation of the causes of international friction, consisting primarily of references to the USSR's alleged unilateral buildup of military potential. Nevertheless, Japanese and Soviet views on the most important issue of the present day turned out to be identical--they believe that any nuclear war, including a local one, will mean the end of the human race.

Japanese participants displayed great interest in a report on the resumption of Soviet-American talks and declared Japan's wish to improve relations between the two great powers. They took every opportunity to stress the connection between the state of Soviet-American relations and the state of Japanese-Soviet relations.

There is no question--and this was pointed out by members of the Soviet delegation--that the positive development of Soviet-American relations is an important condition for the relaxation of tension in the world, including tension in the Pacific. They also said, however, that Japan must put pressure on its overseas ally and propose measures to improve the international atmosphere.

The theory of the "common destiny" of the United States and Japan has recently been publicized to justify Japan's involvement in American nuclear strategy to the Japanese public. In essence, it implies that Japan will certainly be involved in any war between the Soviet Union and the United States. Therefore, it has no alternative but to rely on the Japanese-American military alliance and perish along with its overseas ally.... Members of the Soviet delegation made the quite logical statement that the theory of the "common destiny" of the United States and Japan advises the Japanese to be passive and to denounce the joint struggle of the Japanese and other people against the threat of nuclear war.

Stressing that the Japanese-American military-political alliance is still the basis of national foreign policy, Japanese participants nevertheless requested that Japan be viewed as an independent entity in world politics.

In the 1980's the Japanese political leaders have made every effort to gain public support for the idea of turning Japan into a "global power." Prime Minister Nakasone has declared that Japan is becoming an "international state," and Foreign Minister Abe uses the term "great political power." With what meaning do they invest this term?

The statement about Japan's more important role in world politics is largely a reflection of the objective tendency toward the uneven development of



capitalist countries. The growth of Japan's share of world capitalist production has been accompanied by efforts by Japanese ruling circles to effect a corresponding augmentation of its role in the elaboration of the capitalist world's common strategy. In connection with this, Japanese diplomacy has been more active in world affairs in the first half of the 1980's and has placed special emphasis on participation by Japanese leaders in the conferences of the "big seven," the mediation of conflicts in various parts of the world and the implementation of the idea of the so-called "Pacific community."

At the same time, by focusing public attention on Japan's higher status in the hierarchy of capitalist states, conservative circles are trying to stimulate nationalist feelings, revive the pre-war theories about Japan's "special mission" in the world, etc.

Influential forces in Japan believe that the augmentation of the country's role in world politics will necessitate the development of its own nuclear weapons. At the symposium in Hakone, Professor S. Sato was the first to openly state that if the Japanese leaders feel that the balance of power in the Pacific has been disrupted, they will begin developing their own nuclear potential. Furthermore, in his words, Japan's industrial and technological base will allow it to build as many nuclear weapons "as the superpowers have." What is more, S. Sato said, the Japanese leadership will take no notice of the reaction of Asian countries or the feelings of the Japanese public.

As we know, the Soviet Union has announced that it will not use nuclear weapons against states which do not have any such weapons of their own, are not producing them and will not allow them on their territory. In view of the fact that the Japanese Government has repeatedly declared its adherence to the "three non-nuclear principles," the members of the Soviet delegation proposed an exchange of views on the possibility of recording the mutual obligations of the two countries in the form of a legal document.

The Japanese side objected to this proposal on the grounds that the observance of the "three non-nuclear principles" is not one of Japan's international obligations, but is confined to the discretion of the Japanese Government and cannot be the subject of an international agreement. The main reason for the refusal to discuss this matter, however, consists in the fact, as Professor M. Sase said, that these principles prohibit the emplacement of such weapons in Japan but not their transport through Japanese territory. All of this testifies that the Japanese Government intends to officially allow American ships carrying nuclear weapons to enter Japanese ports.

Soviet participants asked their Japanese colleagues about the kind of steps Japan, as a "global power," is taking on the international level to relax tension in the world and to de-escalate the arms race. They asked a perfectly reasonable question: Why are representatives of Japan, the country that suffered the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, opposing all Soviet proposals in the United Nations to avert the danger of nuclear war? In essence, the Japanese answer was that Japan must place its alliance with the United States above all other considerations.



Members of the Japanese delegation underscored Japan's interest in stronger relations with ASEAN countries in all fields, but they did not deny that commercial expansion and the growth of Japanese military potential are matters of concern to the people of the Asian states.

Therefore, the discussion of problems connected with Japan's role in today's world, including the Pacific, showed that influential Japanese groups have assigned priority to the continued reinforcement of all types of relations with the "Western world," especially the United States, and that they view relations with the USSR within the context of this policy.

There are influential groups in Japan whose members believe that anti-Soviet behavior will raise Japan's stock with its overseas ally. This would be a nearsighted and dangerous policy because only the reinforcement of friendly cooperation between our countries can help to keep the peace and relax tension in the Far East. And this is not merely a declaration. For the last 10 years the USSR has repeatedly addressed specific proposals to Japan. They have stated that if the Japanese Government is not ready to sign a peace treaty at the present time, it would be wise to move in this direction by concluding an agreement on good-neighbor relations and cooperation, which would establish a favorable atmosphere for the development of mutually beneficial commercial contacts. When the possibility of a peace treaty was discussed, members of the Japanese delegation were primarily concerned about the acknowledgement of the territorial claims of official Japanese circles on the USSR. The importance they attached to this matter testifies that it still occupies a prominent place in the arsenal of instruments for the anti-Soviet molding of public opinion. The USSR's views on this matter have been set forth repeatedly in official statements by the Soviet Government and in speeches by Soviet leaders. The matter was completely settled when Japanese militarism was defeated, and it was recorded in international agreements signed by the allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. By signing the act of surrender, the Japanese Government pledged that it and its successors would abide by the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, where these agreements were affirmed.

The Japanese side has actually refused to give serious consideration to the Soviet proposals regarding an agreement on good-neighbor relations and cooperation, blaming its refusal on the absence of the necessary political climate in the country.

The state of commercial and economic relations between our countries was discussed at length. As we know, several positive factors--the high scientific and technical potential of both states, their intersupplementary economic structures and their geographic proximity--made Japan one of the leaders in Soviet trade with developed capitalist countries in the 1970's. It was at this time that joint long-range programs were drawn up for the exploitation of natural resources in the Far East, including agreements on the construction of a deep-sea port in Wrangel Bay, the mining of Southern Yakut coking coal and Sakhalin gas and the modernization of forestry.

In the 1980's, however, the situation began to change. Under pressure from the American administration, the Japanese Government began to impose sanctions

on trade with the USSR, limit exports of advanced technology to our country and complicate the extension of government loans and other forms of credit to the USSR. All of this led to the abrupt decline of trade.

Japanese participants essentially refused to discuss specific aspects of Japan's discriminatory policy.

What kind of "food for thought" did the discussion in Hakone give the members of the Soviet delegation? Our Japanese colleagues expressed the views of influential conservative groups in Japan inclined to actively support U.S. global policy, including policy in the military sphere. The statements about Japan's more important role in international affairs and its evolution into a world power also reflect the desire of these groups to coordinate their actions with other imperialist states for the elaboration of a common strategy in relations with socialist and developing countries. They are obviously also related to the growth of great-power, nationalist tendencies in various strata of the Japanese society. All of these tendencies are affecting the approach of conservative Japanese circles to the improvement of relations with the USSR.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

TWO BOOKS ON IRANIAN REVOLUTION, HOSTAGE CRISIS REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 85 pp 62-63

[Review by A. Arabadzhyan, doctor of economic sciences, of books "Iran: rozhdeniye respubliki" [Iran: The Birth of the Republic] by S. L. Agayev, Moscow, Izdatelstvo "Politicheskaya literatura," 1984, 336 pages, and "Iranskaya revolyutsiya, SShA i mezhdunarodnaya bezopasnost. 444 dnya v zalozhnikakh" [The Iranian Revolution, the United States and International Security. Held Hostage for 444 Days] by S. L. Agayev, edited and prefaced by R. A. Ulyanovskiy, Moscow, Izdatelstvo "Nauka," 1984, 279 pages: "Iran: The First Steps of the Islamic Leadership"]

[Text] The years since the revolution of 1978-1979 in Iran have left no doubt that it has been of essentially no benefit to the broad masses--at least in comparison to the prerevolutionary period (the only exceptions are the religious leaders who seized power in the country). This is due not only to temporary economic and political difficulties--no revolution can escape them. In this case, however, the problems seem to be the following. First of all, the efforts of the religious elite to keep power within their own hands were a goal in themselves from the very beginning of the revolution. The second problem is closely related to the first. For the sake of this goal, these leaders--without transcending bourgeois boundaries--are willing to adapt, and have adapted, to the interests of the class (or social group) that turns out to be the strongest. In Iran this class has always been the bourgeoisie, and now it is primarily the commercial bourgeoisie. The regime's treatment of lower strata (which essentially can be described as charity) is designed to maintain its influence among these strata and to use them as a striking force for the implementation of its plans.

The basic aims of the Islamic regime's policy, as listed above, are the subject of the first of the books under review. It examines the events of February-November 1979, the 9 months during which an Islamic republic, based on the "holy" commandments of the Koran and Shari'at, was established in post-revolutionary Iran. The author uses articles from the Iranian and Western press and scientific literature to show what means and methods the Shiite religious leaders used to isolate leftist and democratic forces from real political power after these forces had played an important role, and sometimes the decisive one, in the revolution. Written in a vivid and precise journalistic style, with quotations from the Koran and Iranian folklore, the book is intended to answer the general reading public's questions about the Iranian

revolution and to provide an initial analysis of the events in this country, an analysis which could serve as a basis for the further, more thorough investigation of all of the aspects of this situation. It appears that the author has attained this dual goal in general.

The second of the books under review is a chronological and thematic continuation of the first. It is about the seizure of the American hostages in Iran in November 1979.

The researcher performed a great deal of productive work in the collation and classification of information. A solid foundation of facts completely validates the author's use of reports published in the Western countries at that time. There are so many of these in the book--and this is one of its merits--that the reader can trace, almost day by day, the actions taken in Iran and those taken by the United States and by Washington's allies in connection with the hostage crisis.

This act put the great power in a state of shock and confusion, although it could not guarantee the attainment of all the goals of Iran's Islamic leaders. The work under review gives the reader an extremely broad overview of the situation and gives him a chance to view it in the Iranian context and the context of the entire world. The information in the book convinces the reader that the seizure of the hostages was necessary neither to the Iranians nor to the American people, but, as the author's analysis demonstrates, it was necessary to the ruling elite in Iran for the resolution of some problems the Islamic leadership encountered during that period. People in the United States also tried to use this situation for specific purposes.

The book shows that the Iranian leadership used the seizure of the hostages as an extremely effective way of diverting the attention of the multimillion-strong masses away from domestic problems at a time when leftist forces still had considerable influence in Iran, when the political and administrative structure of the Islamic state had not been completely established and, consequently, when the mechanism securing Khomeini's actual undivided rule had not been completely established either.

American ruling circles used the hostage crisis in the interests of President Carter's campaign for re-election and in the hope of facilitating Washington's global strategy of undermining international detente. Facts are cited in the book to reveal the main aspects of this plan. In addition, the author has not lost sight of the U.S. administration's efforts to secure the selfish financial interests of the bosses of American "big business," who had initially suffered tremendous losses as a result of the revolution in Iran.

The book provides convincing proof that the hostages were only chessmen on a big board to both sides, and they played this role well. The author quotes a statement made by one of the leaders of the Islamic regime in the Majlis a week before the hostages were released. "The hostages are fruit from which all the juice has been squeezed. Let them all leave" (p 252).

In both of these books, the author reveals the true essence of the phenomenon the Iranian religious leaders called the "Islamic revolution." In view of the

fundamental importance of this matter, we will quote one excerpt from the second book: "The secular groups put in positions of power by the clergy to conceal its policy tried to enlighten the people, not out of love for them but for the sake of the interests of the commercial capital they represented directly. In the actions of religious political forces, however, these interests were mediated by the group ambitions of the clergy as a social substratum, the conditions of whose existence depended on the satisfaction of the people's most vital physical needs. However, by using secular groups to consolidate their own political authority (and this, strictly speaking, was the main purpose of the 'Islamic revolution'), the religious leaders lost the incentive to rely directly on the people" (pp 269-270).

Although we agree with the author, we wish to add something. The post-revolutionary activity and financial status of the masses in Iran are such that we might ask whether the Iranian people would now support religious leaders as enthusiastically as before and submit to these leaders' wishes as selflessly as they did when the revolution was in progress.

Some other comments should also be made. In the beginning of the second book, S. Agayev writes about the policy of the shah, "pursued at the cost of the squandering of income from oil" (p 21). In our opinion, this remark is unjustified. The shah did not squander this income. A high percentage was invested in the economy, and one of the reasons for the crisis in the Iranian economy (of 1974-1978) was precisely the "overfeeding" of the economy with income from oil. As for arms expenditures, these were certainly unproductive, but their unproductive nature would be much more apparent if the shah's Iran had been the only developing country buying arms.

It is a pity that the books have no reference aids, although the introductions to both tell the reader that these are non-academic studies.

A strong undercurrent is present in both books. This effect is produced by the extensive use of sarcasm, sometimes with only the thinnest veneer of humor. This undercurrent is at least as meaningful as the actual analysis of the matters in question. The reader of these books will gain a fairly thorough and detailed understanding of the chief aims of the domestic and foreign policy of ruling circles in present-day Iran, the circles that have usurped the achievements of the truly popular antimonarchic and anti-imperialist revolution for their own class- and group-related purposes.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

NEW FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDITIONS FOR AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA

[Editorial Report] Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 1985 carries on page 25 a 150-word report on a meeting of the commission of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa entitled "In the Interests of Strengthening Solidarity." Chairman of the committee A. V. Safronov, editor-in-chief of the journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI [Peoples of Asia and Africa] A. A. Kutsenkov and deputy editor-in-chief of the journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA took part. They discussed further information-propaganda work of the committee for 1985. Among the measures discussed was the publication of AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in three new languages, Arabic, Portuguese and Dari. "In connection with this," the report noted, "the Soviet community will have the opportunity to more broadly acquaint foreign audiences with the peace-loving policy of our state and with the achievements of real socialism."

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

YAKOVLEV INTERVIEWED ON REASONS FOR U.S. ISOLATION IN UN

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with A. N. Yakovlev, chairman of the Soviet UN Association by V. Arsent'yev, Novosti Press Agency correspondent especially for "SELSKAYA ZHIZN": "Why Has the UN Become a 'Dangerous Place' for the U.S.? Interview for 'SELSKAYA ZHIZN'; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The 39th session of the UN General Assembly has declared 1985 the Year of the UN. A. N. Yakovlev, chairman of the Soviet Association for Cooperation with the UN, shares his views on this occasion in an interview with the Novosti Press Agency correspondent, V. Arsent'yev.

[Question] What, in your view, are the main factors which determine the position of the UN in the system of international relations?

[Answer] The victory in the Great Patriotic War was not just the most severe blow to imperialism, it provided long-lasting momentum for peace, inasmuch as the USSR, having become a world power, was transformed into a bulwark against war. This new situation was embodied in the creation of the United Nations Organization, whose charter reflects a course toward peace.

Today this organization operates under the condition of the nuclear reality, whose exigencies are the very survival of mankind. This is not a rhetorical threat but a situation in which certain forces stand on a platform of using force and not peaceful opposition. The UN's highest destiny as a world organization for peace and security and its main political potential for resisting plans for unleashing nuclear war are in the struggle against them.

[Question] Recent UN resolutions show that it has not only become a tool for opposing aggressive forces but also an arena of cooperative actions in the defense of peace and progress. There is no doubt that Soviet foreign policy and our diplomacy in the UN have been of great service in this. Do you think that this tendency will not only continue but increase?

[Answer] Without a doubt. This is the irresistible movement of historical progress in the development of mankind. It is only natural that the UN be aimed at the solution of the epic-making problem of delivering mankind from a

nuclear catastrophe by the forces of socialism and, especially, by the Soviet state which uses initiative and constructive behavior in the struggle within the UN to resolve the most important international problems. In particular, results of this struggle have been the Declaration on Preventing a Nuclear Catastrophe and the resolution condemning nuclear war. The UN is indebted to socialism for being able to give the first "no" to plans for using nuclear and other forces in space and from space. The USSR's solemn acceptance in front of the whole world in the UN forum of the responsibility not to use nuclear weapons first completely eliminates the basis for any attempts by the American president to justify a space initiative on the basis of the "Soviet threat" and clearly demonstrates its aggressive essence.

[Question] Of course, acting in a complex system of international relationships the UN experiences all of the vicissitudes of world development, especially pressures of those who like to use power to solve problems. But all the same it is becoming more and more inconvenient for the present U.S. administration. What has caused this?

[Answer] Of course, the antiwar orientation of UN activity goes against the grain of the aggressive U.S. circles. This is why recently the UN has been subject to more and more active political attacks and open U.S. blackmail.

The UN was called a "dangerous place" by a member of the American administration who occupied the post of chief U.S. representative to this organization. Another American of the same rank, based on her recently ended five year career in the UN was forced to acknowledge: "The UN is against us." That is, against the U.S. which, in her words, often finds itself "alone," that is, in political isolation, which is true.

The policies of confrontation with nonaligned countries, support for aggressive terrorist actions by Israel against Arab countries, defense of the policy of apartheid, colonialism and aggression pursued by the Republic of South Africa, justifying the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, obstruction of peaceful initiatives by socialist countries in the UN and aggression and state terrorism against Nicaragua and Afghanistan pursued by the U.S. in the UN can only lead to such a position.

Soviet society rejects attacks on the UN. While soberly assessing the place of the UN in modern international life, we are ourselves striving and calling on all other states to actively support further expansion of the role and effectiveness of the UN as an international instrument of peace and security for peoples. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M. S. Gorbachev, spoke precisely about this in his meeting with the UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar.

The Association for Cooperation with the UN in our country is actively working in this area both within the framework of the international movement supporting the UN, represented by the World Federation of Associations for Cooperation with the UN, and in its bilateral ties with foreign associations.

[Question] Would it be possible for you to give specific features of work being done by the Soviet Association for Cooperation with the UN?



[Answer] In its work, our Association proceeds from a sober assessment of UN activity, its weaknesses and inadequacies and also its strengths and impact on the sphere of constructive cooperation. For us, the Year of the UN is not simply an anniversary but an important milestone in the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace, international cooperation for freedom and independence of peoples, for democracy, and against bourgeois totalitarianism and genuine human rights.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

BRZEZINSKI 'CONCERN' FOR IRAN, DRA DERIDED

PM251436 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Yu. Bandura under the rubric "Portraits Without Makeup":  
"Moralist With a Machinegun"]

[Text] Zbigniew Brzezinski is dissatisfied. He is dissatisfied with a lot of things, but particularly with the policy of the current Washington administration in Southwest Asia. President Carter's former assistant recently even allowed himself to publicly criticize Reagan's course when addressing senators from the "group on Afghanistan."

So what is worrying the retired adviser? Perhaps the stepping up of interference by the White House in the internal affairs of the Southwest Asian countries? Or realization of the vileness of the dushmans' deeds, on which Washington is forking out \$250 million in fiscal 1985 alone, and next year is promising \$600 million more?

Of course not. Brzezinski was and still is a zealous champion of waging the undeclared war against Afghanistan. In his opinion, the scale of the war should be even more extensive. And for this, the United States must link its fate even more closely with the military regime in Pakistan and take it completely under its wing.

According to Brzezinski, there is yet another gap in the White House's policy: the present administration seems to have completely forgotten about Iran! As a result, the U.S. security expert scared the senators, a "terrible Soviet threat" hangs over that country. And it is about to fall upon the former U.S. domain. If the United States does not immediately go to Iran's aid. Voluntarily. Without waiting to be asked. And the quicker the better.

Who on earth could have thought of that? Well, Brzezinski did. It came to him swiftly like an illumination. "Afghanistan is a strategic wedge" posing a "hugely increased danger" for Iran; as a result, "the geopolitical future of Southwest Asia is at stake" and with it U.S. "vital interests" too. And Washington has itself contracted to defend these "interests," "without stopping at the use of armed forces."

Back in January 1980, on the basis of the "Carter Doctrine" designed to this same Brzezinski's specifications.

The geostrategist's concern for Iran's security was truly touching. For Brzezinski spotted the threat to that country's security back in 1979 in the last days of the shah's reign. And he sent a cipher telegram to then U.S. Ambassador W. Sullivan: "foment a military coup against the revolution." The ambassador understood the allusion but was unable to help.

In August 1979 the "Brzezinski memorandum" came to light: It contained instructions on preparing to intervene in Iran. But this venture was also foiled.

But what can stop a righteous man on the road to the sacred places of "U.S. vital interests!" And in December 1979 Brzezinski chaired a White House conference, discussing with fellow believers the question of overthrowing Ayatollah Khomeyni's power. Then he tried to obtain the UN Security Council's consent to punitive actions against Iran and organized the adventure involving the landing of a force in the Iranian Dasht-e Kavir desert (in April 1980) to organize a counterrevolutionary coup and military intervention under the screen of releasing the U.S. hostages....

In brief, the dream of taking Iran in hand did not leave Brzezinski for a moment. But since the revolution in Iran dealt a blow to this dream, "Carter's team" had to swiftly step up the military presence in Southwest Asia and secure a National Security Council decision to seek new support bridgeheads in that region. Afghanistan was to become the most important of these.

As is known, Washington's attempt to secure its own protege in power in Kabul in 1979 failed. "But is everything really lost?" Brzezinski appealed to the senators. "Are there really no more powder and missiles in U.S. arsenals, dushmans in Pakistani camps, or dollars in the exchequer?" Everything must be brought into play, the geostrategist demanded. But here he still dilated about the west's "moral duty" to Afghanistan.

The mercenaries, who are revolving the "moral question" posed by Brzezinski and his bosses, have destroyed around 2,000 schools in Afghanistan. The dushmans have burned or blown up more than 40 hospitals and health centers. Around 1,000 peasant cooperatives have been plundered by Washington's minions. Thousands of innocent civilian inhabitants have become victims of the terror organized by Washington.

But this is still not enough for the ex-assistant. He demands the stepping up of the bloodshed and the expansion of the training and arming of counterrevolutionaries. This is morality according to Brzezinski.

He himself is not averse to pressing the trigger sometimes. But only once-- in February 1980 when he traveled to Pakistan to introduce the "Carter Doctrine"--did he experience the temptation of armed-to-the-teeth "morality."

At the Khyber Pass, where the border separating Pakistan and Afghanistan runs, a hand machinegun fell into the hands of the president's assistant. Brzezinski seized the weapon, pressed his cheek to the metal, and moved the barrel toward the mountains and valleys, catching in the notch of the sight leaf the foreign territory: "Oh, to smash this Afghan problem..." But he desisted. He has to invent all kinds of doctrines, think up concepts, and provide a moral base for state terrorism. Let the practical men engage in the shooting, and knifing, and strangling. They are paid money and supplied with machineguns to turn Brzezinski's ideas into death....

The geostrategist did not express these ideas of his to the senators from the "group on Afghanistan": but they are not children, they will understand what is what.

CSO: 1807/443

WESTERN EUROPE

U.S. ALLEGED TO SITE NUCLEAR ARMS ON PORTUGUESE AZORES

LD140205 Moscow in Portuguese to Portugal 2100 GMT 13 Jul 85

[Text] The Azores regional parliament recently passed a resolution stressing that the agreement concluded with Washington on the Lajes base runs counter to the interests of the security of the Archipelago's population. Our observer Vasilii Andrianov writes:

[Andrianov] The agreement on leasing the Lajes Air Base in the Azores to the Pentagon was signed for the first time over 30 years ago by the fascist Salazar regime, with whom Washington maintained good relations. Initially the agreement provided only for the landing and resupply of U.S. aircraft. But it has been reviewed several times, most recently in December of last year. It now contains secret articles providing for the siting of U.S. nuclear weapons in the Azores. The DIARIO newspaper has published a document from the Portuguese fund for cooperation with research in the area of national defense, which confirms the White House's nuclear designs. The document says that the Lajes Base has acquired particular importance precisely as a staging point for strategic nuclear weapons.

It is known that in the port of Praia da Vitoria and elsewhere in the Archipelago there are bases for Trident and Poseidon submarines. DAIRIO has quoted a high-ranking military officer to the effect that the U.S. command at the Lajes base is fully equipped to have the nuclear weapons on an operational footing in a matter of hours. Equally significant in this connection are the statements by Alvaro Monjardino, a social-democratic deputy to the Azores Autonomous parliament, who said in an interview with the newspaper CORREIOD DA MANHA that the secret articles on the Lajes Air Base in no way forbid the storage of nuclear components there. Moreover Washington plans to use the bases in the Azores and Madeira for its Rapid Deployment Forces.

The U.S. military rules the islands as they would their own homes. The Lisbon government does not really know what kinds of weapons pass through the Azores and Madeira, nor what kinds are stored there. It is significant that in the agreement on the terms of the Lajes Base lease the Portuguese authorities should waive the defense of the interests of the Portuguese nationals working inside the base. They are subjected to discrimination and to special vetting procedures, and may be fired at any moment without the right to be defended by the local Portuguese authorities. It should also be noted that no fishing is allowed in the waters adjacent to the U.S. Lajes Base.

The United States will stop at nothing in its designs on unchecked control over the Azores and Madaira and on turning these islands into the most important bases for its military adventures. The CIA and the Pentagon have set up several separatist groupings which support an increased U.S. military presence in the Azores and Madeira. THE NEW YORK TIMES said that the CIA spends millions of dollars to this end.

Wide sectors of Portuguese opinion demand an end to the Pentagon's high-handedness in the Azores and Madeira and protest against turning the archipelagos into Washington's nuclear dump.

CSO: 3542/238

WESTERN EUROPE

BRITISH CENSORSHIP OF BBC FILM ON IRA ATTACKED

Moscow TV Report

LD071628 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1444 GMT 7 Aug 85

[From the "World Today" program presented by Igor Fesunenکو]

[Text] The British people today found themselves left with hunger rations in terms of news information. Only music could be heard on the BBC's air waves, and television programs were halted. The reason for this is the 24-hour strike by BBC journalists and engineers and a number of other British television and radio companies, which started this morning. And the reason for the strike was the cancellation, under crude pressure by the government, of a documentary film due to be shown on television today about the problems of Northern Ireland. This film has caused the indignation and fury of the authorities for it tells the truth about the atmosphere of terror and coercion inflamed by official London in Ulster and the struggle of the Northern Irish Catholics to establish their civil rights which have been violated.

So, the British people were left today without television and radio, and the whole world has once again learned the cost of an interview especially for the press and about the celebrated British democracy. [video shows pickets outside BBC current affairs production center, handing out leaflets and speaking to people as they enter the building; close-up of placards "whose television? yours or governments!" and "nuj on strike!"]

'Crisis in Democracy'

PM131619 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Aug 85 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent S. Nikishov "Commentary" for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Only a Myth..."]

[Text] London--"Crisis"--this word has featured on the front pages of British newspapers for several days now. It does not just refer to the chronic troubles which plague the country's economy. It is a question of a crisis in "democracy, British style" or, more accurately, the absence of one of its elements, namely "the freedom of expression and the press." On this occasion, a strident political scandal has attracted universal attention, a scandal

caused by the decision not to screen a program about problems in Northern Ireland taken by the Board of Governors of the BBC, the major radio and television corporation, under pressure from official London.

Events followed each other in quick succession. On 28 July one of the newspapers carried an interview with Prime Minister M. Thatcher in which she "condemned the practice of the screening on television" of programs about organizations which defend the rights of the Catholic minority in Ulster. At the same time the newspaper announced the scheduled screening of a document on problems in Northern Ireland by the BBC on 7 August. The film included in particular an interview with Martin McGuinness, a leader of the "provisional" Sinn Fein party which operates legally, who is also a deputy in the Northern Ireland Assembly.

The following day Home Secretary Brittan sent a lengthy letter to the BBC's board demanding in the form of an ultimatum that the film be banned. He claimed that screening it would be tantamount to giving "material aid to terrorists." On 30 July the corporation's directors imposed a ban on the film. In a reply to the home secretary's letter they hastened to inform him that work on another film devoted to problems in Ulster had been suspended.

In this way the BBC management demonstrated that there is no question of the corporation's "being independent" and that "freedom of information" British-fashion is a myth....

The fact that the conservative government resorted to overt political censorship with the aim of concealing the results of its colonial policy in Northern Ireland has caused extreme indignation among the public. Ulster has been effectively transformed by official London into a training ground for the "security forces" to rehearse methods of suppressing actions by fighters for democratic rights and freedoms. According to official statistics, more than 2,400 people have been killed there and more than 26,000 injured over the past 16 years.

In protest against the high-handed action by the authorities, technicians, employees, and virtually all the journalists at the BBC and also their colleagues at ITV, the private television company, staged a 24-hour strike.

The strike represented a climax, as it were, in the confrontation between the conservative government and the British news media which has been worsening over a long period. As long ago as the Anglo-Argentinian armed conflict caused by the dispute over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, the Tory cabinet expressed its indignation at the fact that newspapers, radio, and television were not presented government policy with due "reverence." A similar conflict took place during the recent national strike by British miners.

"With the present strike we wanted to draw the public's attention to the problem of censorship in Britain," V. Hanna, member of the Executive Council of the National Union of Journalists, has emphasized.

The journalists' strike ended with a victory. The BBC Board of Directors decided to screen the film, albeit in an abridged version. How much of the original will remain is as yet difficult to say. So far, the corporation's management has not even dared to name the date on which the film will be shown....



WESTERN EUROPE

FRG ACCUSED OF BACKING AFGHAN REBELS

IZVESTIYA Comment

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent in Bonn: "From a Strange Voice--Relative to One Anti-Soviet Falsehood" under the rubric "Attention: Disinformation"]

[Excerpt] Influential people, inspired in the FRG by various anti-Soviet campaigns, obviously received particular satisfaction when in the first program of West German television a report was shown recently on the "Soviet war" in Afghanistan. The broadcast was led not by some sort of double-dyed anti-Soviet, but by a journalist having a reputation as a liberal and a participant in the anti-war movement.

Indeed, F. (Alt) has repeatedly come out against the arms race, against the placing of American nuclear missiles in the FRG and against "star wars." Precisely this must have evidently become for the average man a guarantee of the "trustworthiness" of his report.

On the basis of obviously fabricated materials, a certain nurse Mueller and other FRG citizens, who made their way together with the dushman along the territory of Afghanistan, and F. (Alt) himself, accused the Soviet Union of "destruction of peaceful units in the DRA," abduction of Afghan children and use of explosive equipment camouflaged in children's toys, books, etc. A familiar version of the story that the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan is waging a "destructive war, above all, against the civilian population" was strengthened with this "proof."

What are the sources of all these absurd conjectures? They became evident toward the end of the broadcast when appeals were heard for "rendering help to refugees" and an address flashed on the screen on a so-called "Committee on Afghanistan" based in the FRG (which has normal diplomatic relations with the DRA).

This organization, as a matter of fact, serves as a branch of the CIA and other secret services, who are participating in the undeclared war against

democratic Afghanistan, in the kindling of anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet feelings. Following the principle of "the pot calling the kettle black" they are handing out bloody crimes of the dushman in exchange for actions of Soviet and Afghan troops, and flying bombs [bomby-babochki] and mini-traps made on the orders of the CIA and thrown by bandits in the villages and cities--for Soviet weapons.

The political metamorphosis of F. (Alt), calling up the West German public to resist the "Soviet war" in Afghanistan, is in some way understandable. For quite a while now, FRG right-wing conservative means of mass information "by license" of reactionary circles, trample prominent figures of the anti-war movement and more or less progressive-minded journalists.

Many representatives of the FRG public are disturbed by F. (Alt's) role in the anti-Soviet show from Baden-Baden. At the same time, they received new confirmation of the power and impudence of those forces in bourgeois society which are capable, when it becomes necessary, of crushing a "free journalist" along with all his noble principles.

#### Kabul News Conference

LD081753 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Aug 85

[From the Vremya newscast; report over video by M. Leshchinskiy from Kabul]

[Text] In Kabul a news conference has been held at which new facts concerning the direct participation of FRG ruling circles in the undeclared war against Afghanistan were made public.

[M. Leshchinskiy in video report, shown outside venue of news conference] We have already told Vremya viewers about the program by the West German Sudwestfunk television center, crudely distorting the role of the Soviet Army in the events taking place on the territory of Democratic Afghanistan. When the report of this program reached Afghanistan it evoked a broad wave of protest and indignant responses from the broadest possible strata of the public of the republic. This is the subject of discussion at the news conference arranged for foreign journalists by the BAKHTAR agency and the Foreign Ministry of the Republic. [video shows journalists seated in rows at news conference]

Incidentally, while speaking at the news conference and posing their questions, many journalists voiced surprise at how a journalist as well-known in the West as Franz Alt, who presented the program, could be taken in by false testimony and false facts. I shall adduce just one example: Here you see two submachine-guns. [video shows two submachine-guns lying on table]

They were taken from captured bandits. Both these submachine-guns are of West German manufacture. One of them incidentally is sadly famous from the days of World War II, made by the Schmeisser firm.

[Yurish, deputy DRA foreign minister, in video interview in vernacular, with Russian translation superimposed] The DRA government has issued an official protest to the FRG Government in connection with its interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Ruling circles in Bonn, in defiance of all norms of international law and UN principles, are crudely trampling upon our country's sovereignty by rendering armed assistance to the bandits. The facts show that bands of Dushmans, trained abroad, are waging war against the whole people. They have destroyed over 1,800 schools, 906 peasant cooperatives, and over 40 hospitals, and killed thousands of civilians, including over 200 clergymen. All the Afghan people condemn the acts of the bandits and their sponsors.

#### KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Report

PM131545 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Aug 85 Second Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Press Service report: "Those Whom Bonn Is Protecting"]

[Text] The facts of the FRG ruling circles' direct involvement in the undeclared war against the DRA have been exposed at a press conference held in Kabul.

Journalists were shown examples of West German-made weapons seized by the Afghan Army from Dushman gangs. (D. Kavian), director general of the BAKHTAR news agency, who spoke during the press conference, noted that leaders of counterrevolutionary organizations ensconced in neighboring countries are received at a very high level in the FRG. For example, such terrorists and murderers as G. Hekmatyar, Y. Khalis, and Mojadidi have been honored with an audience by representatives of ruling circles and political parties in the FRG. At the same time, certain politicians such as Bundestag Deputy J. Todenhoefer have repeatedly and illegally entered DRA territory. And the Bundeswehr's Major (E. Kotnyy) took part in an attack by a Dushman gang on the Jalalabad city power systems.

As a BAKHTAR statement distributed at the press conference emphasizes, the extensive psychological warfare mounted in the FRG against the DRA is being carried out in the Goebbels spirit of lies and slander. An example of that is proved by a film shown recently on West German television. This deception, which crudely distorts the USSR's internationalist assistance to Afghanistan and the role of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the DRA, was fabricated by West German citizens who illegally infiltrated DRA territory as part of counterrevolutionary gangs.

Replying to journalists' questions, (G.S. Yuresh), DRA deputy foreign minister, assessed the FRG ruling circles' hostile anti-Afghan policy as a violation of international treaties and agreements, interference in the DRA's internal affairs, and an encroachment on the republic's national sovereignty and independence.

CSO: 1807/433

WESTERN EUROPE

KOHL'S 16 JUNE ADDRESS TO SILESIAN GATHERING REPORTED

PM130913 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 85 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov: "Future in the Past? West German Chancellor's Speech at Revanchist Assembly"]

[Text] Bonn, 16 Jun--The "culminating event" of the 3-day "all-German" gathering of the revanchist Silesian landmannschaft held with great pomp in Hannover was today's speech by Federal Chancellor H. Kohl. Nothing could stop the FRG head of government from taking this step--neither the appeals from the opposition parties nor the demonstrations and meetings protesting the assembly in front of the auditorium where it was held....

And so this program speech was delivered. The chancellor reiterated for the umpteenth time the hackneyed thesis of the allegedly "unresolved German question," claiming that this notorious question, despite the existing political realities, needs to be resolved "within the framework of a European peace procedure." Kohl asserted that he had done the same thing before, that Germany's division means at the same time the division of Europe, which must be overcome, the speaker believes, through the "voluntary" abolition of the socialist system in the last European states. There was a sinister irony to the chancellor's assurances of the FRG's peace-loving foreign policy and of the fact that peace should originate from West German soil. The chancellor kept quiet about how the U.S. first-strike nuclear missile weapons deployed on the territory of the FRG and several other West European states could scarcely promote the consolidation of peace in Europe and throughout the world. He kept quiet about how the FRG's intention to take part in developing the "star wars" program put forward by President Reagan is nothing the undermining of the edifice of peace. [as printed]

"We want peace, understanding, and conciliation," the chancellor said from the platform of the revanchist assembly which took place under the slogan "for Silesia" in an auditorium decked with posters depicting the map of Germany within its 1937 borders. The speaker's disquisitions on the subject of "mutual forgiveness" were interspersed with assurances of his readiness to deepen cooperation with the FRG's neighbors on the basis of the Eastern treaties. But an attempt was made here to support the thesis that the eastern treaties are

not "politically binding" for the FRG and that the question of definitive borders in Europe must, it turns out, be resolved when concluding a peace treaty. This pernicious thesis, which is aimed at cancelling out the peace settlement achieved in Europe, was suggested to the chancellor for obviously provocative purposes, by F. J. Strauss, the leader of the Bavarian right-wing extremists, addressing ministers and other government officials in Bonn 3 days ago.

The tumultuous applause which H. Kohl elicited at the end of his speech in Hannover showed the Federal Chancellor's spiritual proximity to the people he was addressing, who continue to see their future in the remote past.

CSO: 1807/445

WESTERN EUROPE

BRIEFS

FRG PARTY'S 'HOSTILE POLICY' TOWARD AFGHANISTAN ATTACKED--Bonn August 21 TASS--The leadership of the West German Social Democratic Party has published here a selection of statements by some of its leaders which bear witness to this party's hostile policy towards revolutionary Afghanistan. Those mendacious "documents" are actually a rehash of the right-wing propaganda's allegations in connection with the events inside and outside Afghanistan which valiantly fights against its internal and external enemies. The publication shows that certain leaders of the social Democratic Party are not above speculating on Afghan events, echoing, in the course, the deliberate lies spread by Afghan counterrevolutionaries and the West's subversive special services, which try, together with the reactionary forces of West Germany, to denigrate the policy of democratic Afghanistan and the multisided internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union to the Afghan people. Such statements, local political observers indicate, give actual support to the counterrevolutionaries and their western, primarily American supporters, fanning up the undeclared war against Afghanistan. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 21 Aug 85 LD].

CSO: 1812/325

EASTERN EUROPE

GDR: PRODUCTION INTENSIFICATION REVIEWED

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 27, Jul 85 p 20

[Article by N. Baturin: "The GDR: Its Production Intensification Policy" under the rubric: "Experience of Fraternal Countries"]

[Text] The economic strategy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] at the contemporary stage is directed toward comprehensive intensification of production. It is based on widespread introduction of the latest achievements of scientific-technical progress, further deepening of cooperation and exchange of experience with the Soviet Union and other CEMA nations, and more complete utilization of the advantages of socialist economic integration. Measures on perfecting the economic mechanism which have been implemented in the GDR have been directed toward solution of these problems.

Combines - the Main Links of Management

Combines, directly subordinate to branch ministries, are the main links of management of industry, construction, transportation and communications. In industry, 129 combines of central subordination have been established. They bear full responsibility for the entire process of production in their respective area, including scientific-technical projects, production and sale of the articles.

In construction there are 20 combines of central subordination.

Additionally, 66 combines of local and district subordination have been set up in industry. There are also combines such as these in passenger transportation, in the services sphere and in other spheres. District councils are responsible for management of combines of local subordination; but in the area of planning, the Ministry of Local and Food Industry is responsible.

Apart from the industrial enterprises, branch scientific-research and planning organizations as well as the marketing organs have been transferred to the centrally-subordinated combines. Combines and the enterprises which belong to them operate on a cost accounting basis, and on the basis of planned assignments in accordance with the national economic plan. The task has been set for tying-in cost accounting even more closely with the plan,

thus directing more effectively the economic interests of the combines, enterprises, and their collectives toward satisfying the needs of the state, and the national economy as a whole.

The establishment of high final indicators determines the direction for planning tasks for the combines and enterprises. In order to carry them out, the combines must actively utilize their available material resources and strength, and above all their scientific-technical potential.

Among the planned indicators assigned to the combines, four indicators--net production, net profit, production of finished articles and services for the populace, and exports--are the basis for analysis of their activities and for incentives for the labor collectives. The combines also receive tasks for increasing labor productivity, for quality of production and for innovations, for reducing the proportion of expenditure of materials and energy, and for reducing production costs. Fulfillment of these tasks is possible only with persistent and intensive introduction of modern scientific-technical achievements. Thus, establishing the system of final economic indicators, and strict control over their fulfillment is the most important lever for accelerating scientific-technical progress.

#### "Notebooks for Obligations"

The work of the research and design organizations which are part of the combines is also carefully planned. The conceptions and plans of scientific-technical projects must support production of new articles and the use of progressive technologies which increase production effectiveness and labor productivity. The 9th SED Central Committee Plenum assigned the task of renewing the output of industrial production at an annual rate of 30 per cent on the average, and at a 40 per cent rate for manufactured consumer goods. At the same time, they must continually increase the quality of the articles and reduce production expenditures.

A system has been established in the GDR in accordance with which a "notebook of obligations" is established prior to the beginning of every scientific-research project. Entered in the notebook are data on the purpose of the project, the periods for completion and for putting the new articles into production, as well as the expected economic effect from its realization. The "notebook of obligations" is coordinated with the intended recipient of the new articles, with domestic and foreign trade, with the suppliers of the component parts; with the department of standardization, metrology and quality control; and with other interested organizations. Only after this is it approved by the general director of the combine, and then it serves as the basis for agreement between the scientific-research organizations and the client-enterprise. It should be noted that in the GDR all scientific-research and design organizations are independent juridical persons, with the exception of the institutions of the Academy of Sciences, and academic institutions; they have been given total cost-accounting status, and fulfill orders on the basis of contracts.



Estimates on carrying out projects are carried out depending on how they correspond with the goals established in the "Notebook for Obligations" and the actual results achieved. Naturally, the project managers have a material interest in realizing the planned results in full volume and at the established time, for this determines the price at which the product will be sold and, consequently the profit to the scientific-technical organization, which is utilized, in particular, for incentives to the personnel. Quite often the general director of a combine establishes supplements to the wages of those taking part in important scientific-technical projects; a portion of the addition (ordinarily about half) is paid out at piecework rates after the job is completed, but only when successfully carried out.

The scientific-research efforts of a combine are also enlisted to develop promising themes envisaged by the state plan for scientific-technical works.

### Modernization of Fixed Capital

Perfecting the system of capital investments and modernization of the fixed capital of the enterprises are of paramount importance for introduction of scientific-technical projects. The main directions for intensification in the area of reproduction of fixed capital and capital construction are achieving a high degree of utilization of existing equipment, and its modernization; and increasing the effectiveness of capital investments, and the use of means for rationalization established by the combines.

Persistent work is being carried on in the GDR for increasing the length of the daily workload on production equipment, and in this connection, for a transition to multiple-shift operation. The workload of the most important production equipment in industry has increased from 15.6 hours in 1983 to 16.1 hours per day in 1984. In 1983, 42.2 per cent of production workers were employed at multiple-shift work, including 29.3 per cent on three-shift operation. The manpower required for this is provided primarily by virtue of releasing personnel within a given enterprise and combine as a result of growth in labor productivity.

Planning of new projects for capital investment is carried out only under conditions of sufficiently complete use of existing production capacities. And the main form of reproduction of fixed capital in the GDR has been found to be its modernization. It is carried out, as a rule, simultaneously with major repair work, and is designed to significantly increase the quality and the useful life of the equipment at a comparatively low cost.

In order to provide incentives for a careful attitude toward the installed equipment and carrying out modernization--according to reports from the GDR's economic press--there are plans for allocations to the budget at the expense of deductions from the cost of the fixed capital, exclusive of amortization (from net costs). At the same time increasing the quality of the equipment as a result of major repairs and modernization will not increase the amounts of the deductions allocated.

Rationalization and reconstruction of existing production capacities instead of building new projects are occupying an ever larger position in capital investments. Thus, in 1984, the proportion of rationalization in capital investments of the industrial ministries amounted to 57 per cent, while in the metalworking industry (machine building, electrical equipment and electronics) it amounted to more than 70 per cent.

In planning for capital investments by combines, ministries and Gosplan, predominance is given to the variants which permit receiving yields in the shortest possible periods with the greatest effectiveness. At the same time the following requirements are put forth:

--Growth of net production as a result of putting into operation a capital investment project of 1,000 marks in investment expenditures must be higher than the net production output at the present time from 1,000 marks in fixed capital;

--Normative periods for recoupment of capital investments must be maintained. The task is set for realizing capital investment projects in the course of two years, as a rule;

--Labor productivity must increase more rapidly than the capital-labor ratio, and the number of units of manpower released as the result of modernization at an enterprise or a combine, must be greater than that required for operation of a capital investment project.

#### Production of the Means of Rationalization

An important source for providing capital investments in the necessary equipment, appliances, automatic devices, and introduction of new technology is production of one's own means of rationalization at the combines. Specialized capacities (enterprises, shops, centers) have been set up at all combines, regardless of their production profile, for manufacturing such means. The task has been set to organize matters in such a way that one's own production of the means of rationalization becomes the principal source of planned equipment deliveries for capital investments.

In accordance with the law on the national economic plan for 1985, production of the means of rationalization by combines subordinate to industrial ministries must be increased in comparison with the preceding year by 19.8 per cent, with growth in output of commodity production of 4.3 per cent.

At the present time the production capacities and scientific potential of the combines permits them to make practical plans and to create new equipment and machine complexes, automated sectors and industrial robots, taking broad advantage of production cooperation. Serially-produced equipment, as well as the drive mechanisms, standard parts, electrical instruments and elements which comprise the complexes being set up, are being provided by specialized enterprises. And the enterprises and scientific research centers of the combines, which are producing the means of rationalization,

are concentrating on the specific articles which the combine requires for production intensification. This permits preserving, where possible, the advantages of serial production of equipment and simultaneously establishing for the needs of every combine, a flexible production apparatus, completely adapted to its needs, which is capable of being easily readjusted for carrying out regular tasks; it also permits introducing progressive technology for changing the kind of products being manufactured. Therefore, the GDR considers rapid development of the production of means of rationalization an important direction in the process of the all-embracing intensification of production.

Enterprises for producing the means of rationalization are also being set up at local industry combines, oriented primarily on production of consumer goods.

Measures being implemented in the GDR for perfecting the management of the economy and intensification of production are providing positive results: the economy is developing at steady, high rates, and a large increase in economic power will be attained. Thus, in the period 1980-1984 the national income rose from 187 billion marks to 220 billion, whereas the number employed in the production sphere showed hardly any increase. For the current five-year plan, proportional industrial consumption of energy resources, raw materials and other materials which are important to the national economy, has declined by six per cent. The degree of equipment utilization has improved. Industry is increasing the rate of renewing its production. For example, last year the rate of renewal reached 23.8 per cent. The proportion of branches in the structure of the national economy which embody scientific-technical progress is rapidly increasing.

9006

CSO: 1825/96

EASTERN EUROPE

USE OF 'SECONDARY RAW MATERIALS' IN BULGARIA, HUNGARY

Bulgarian Program

Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in Russian No 4,  
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[Article by Dimitr Vasilev, chairman of the Corporation of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers for the Use of Secondary Raw Materials: "The Organization and Management of the Collection and Procurement of Secondary Raw Materials in Bulgaria"]

[Text] In recent years the efficient use of secondary raw materials has been given special consideration in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This was reflected in the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the December (1982) BCP Central Committee Plenum and in the personal instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council.

What made our party and government give this matter such serious consideration? Above all, it is no secret that Bulgaria has limited supplies of the material resources needed for the development of its national economy. The constant growth of national production, however, requires more and more fuel, energy and raw materials. For this reason, we must import a high percentage of these resources, spending huge sums, with the amount influenced by the constantly rising prices on the world market.

Secondly, the use of secondary raw materials is more beneficial from the economic standpoint. The cost of collecting, sorting, procuring and processing is much lower than the cost of extracting primary resources and materials. It must also be borne in mind that there has been a tendency in Bulgaria, just as in the rest of the world, toward higher expenditures on the production of primary resources and materials in connection with the deterioration of the conditions of their extraction.

In the third place, the ecological factor is of considerable importance. If waste products are dumped instead of being used in the national economy, they take up a great deal of space, harm the environment and require large expenditures on their purification.

In the fourth place, the supplementary processing of secondary raw materials with the aid of the latest research findings and technical achievements makes them as useful as primary materials.

In 1983 alone, we recycled 868,565 tons of steel, 88,680 tons of cast iron, 67,970 tons of nonferrous metals, 143,570 tons of waste paper, 48,825 tons of broken glass, 15,750 tons of polymers and many other materials.

Secondary raw materials are therefore economically efficient resources. Their use saves money and labor and heightens the productivity of national production and the national economy in general.

In past years problems connected with the use of secondary raw materials were underestimated or solved only sporadically in our country. There was no complete solution to the overall problem, and this is why even our advances in this area did not meet the requirements of the economy or the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

For example, secondary metal used in the production of steel represented only 65 percent of all secondary resources, the average figure for waste paper was 45 percent and the figure for broken glass was 20 percent.

With a view to the exceptional importance of this matter, the Bulgarian State Council and Council of Ministers ratified special normative documents in 1983 on the more efficient use of secondary raw materials in the national economy. They demanded that ministries, departments, enterprises and the population develop a fundamentally new attitude toward these important resources and a fundamentally new approach to the resolution of all related problems. Secondary raw materials must be regarded not merely as the inevitable waste products of technological processes and household waste, but as valuable raw materials for production and as part of our socialist property. In connection with this, the collection, storage and efficient use of these materials will be one of the criteria used in evaluating the performance of socialist enterprises, labor collectives and their managers.

The existing system for the use of secondary raw materials has also been improved in line with the new normative documents. This activity has now become an independent industry, with its development indicators planned and calculated separately on each level.

The Corporation for Secondary Raw Materials was established under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers to carry out state policy in this area. It manages, coordinates and oversees the activities of all our agencies and organizations engaged in the disclosure, collection and efficient use of secondary raw materials in the national economy. The corporation is assisted and supported by sectorial ministries, ispolkoms, okrug people's soviets, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Komsomol Central Committee and other public organizations.

The corporation has the power to publish instructions, directives, orders and other decisions on the use of secondary raw materials, and these are binding

for all agencies and organizations in the country. In conjunction with the State Planning Committee, it compiles balance sheets of secondary raw materials on all levels of national economic management and long-range, five-year and short-range plans for the development of the sector. The corporation has the responsibility of promoting a standard scientific and technical policy for the maximum use of secondary resources in the national economy and the planning, supervision and coordination of the establishment of new enterprises and the enlargement of existing ones for the collection and processing of secondary raw materials, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction. The corporation oversees the fulfillment of the plan for the collection and use of secondary raw materials.

The corporation is managed jointly by the state and the public. It is headed by a Council on Secondary Raw Materials, an executive bureau and a chairman. The council, with officials from sectorial ministries, public organizations and scientific institutes among its members, is a collective body responsible for the compilation of theories, forecasts and economic programs of sectorial development. It ratifies balance sheets on the main types of secondary raw materials and approves measures for sectorial development. The executive bureau implements council decisions and is responsible for the direct supervision of the activities of corporation organizations.

In Bulgaria, 27 "Vtorichnoye syrye" joint economic enterprises (JEE) and one combine are engaged in finding, purchasing and selling secondary raw materials in accordance with plans. They were established in line with the territorial principle (one for each okrug) and are under the direct jurisdiction of the corporation.

Distribution quotas for production and consumption waste (for 24 categories specified in the plan) are set each year by the State Planning Committee for ministries and departments, and by them for their subdivisions. Those using secondary raw materials in production receive the necessary supplies. The final distribution figures for organizations and enterprises are calculated with the aid of computers, and a plan is drawn up for the purchase and sale of secondary raw materials on the territorial level (by okrugs). The plan specifies the suppliers and consumers of secondary raw materials in each okrug and the quantity of resources surrendered or received, by separate categories, during the year and during each quarter.

This plan is fulfilled by the "Vtorichnoye syrye" JEE's. They also receive assignments for the purchase of secondary materials from the population.

Economic incentives for the more extensive collection and use of secondary raw materials are being used quite effectively in Bulgaria. For example, the purchase prices of secondary raw materials sold to state enterprises and organizations are differentiated according to the degree and quality of preparation. These differences are sizeable enough to motivate economic organizations to acquire the necessary preparatory equipment and carefully sort technological waste products according to quality.

The prices paid for secondary raw materials purchased from the population are higher than prices in the state sector. The difference is covered by state

budget funds. In exchange for the secondary resources, people are offered scarce goods or goods at lower prices than in the trade network.

The "Vtorichnoye syrye" JEE's took an interesting initiative when they offered young students athletic equipment (at lower prices) in exchange for secondary raw materials. This increased procurement volumes considerably.

The existing economic mechanism has been supplemented in various ways for the implementation of the basic principles of normative documents on the use of secondary resources. In particular, economic enterprises will have a chance to use unlimited bank credit at low interest rates for the purchase of all the secondary raw materials we offer them (even waste products which cannot be used now but will be able to be used in the near future). Besides this, the enterprises will not have to pay contributions to production funds or taxes on their profits. These savings will be used primarily to finance the accelerated development of the sectorial material and technical base.

Other economic incentives are also designed specifically to improve the collection and use of secondary resources. For example, the new normative documents regulate and clarify the obligations of economic organizations and enterprises in the utilization of secondary raw materials. In the future, they will not be supplied with primary resources and materials if they surpass expenditure norms or do not surrender the required quantities of technological waste products. Primary resources and materials will be used only after the depletion of secondary resources.

Enterprises are obligated to secure the necessary conditions for the collection, separation and storage of technological waste products and, when necessary, to establish a material base for their procurement and processing. Complete accountability and control will be instituted for the collection and storage of secondary materials, just as they have been established for primary resources. The complete use of technological waste will become an extremely important criterion in the evaluation of designs for new and improved items and new technological plans.

It was resolved at the 12th BCP Congress that the collection and use of secondary raw materials should be regarded as a national objective. This resulted in the creation of a central coordinating council, made up of representatives of all public organizations and sectorial ministries, and coordinating councils in okrugs and rural networks, leading to the further development of joint public-state management of the organization of all related operations. The coordinating councils in okrugs and rural networks have been active in mobilizing secondary resources and are performing a great deal of organizational and educational work. This has resulted in regular Komsomol shock work days, with young people, especially Pioneers from all over the country, competing in the collection of secondary raw materials.

A main board of inspectors, with representatives in all okrugs, functions as part of the corporation network for state control over the more complete collection and comprehensive processing of secondary resources. It is responsible for preliminary and ongoing control, the prevention of the spoilage and

theft of secondary resources and assistance in the collection, separation and efficient use of these resources and the observance of other provisions in the normative documents. The instructions of the main board of inspectors are binding for economic organizations and managers. Officials responsible for their nonfulfillment are subject to a fine of up to 200 lev.

The decisive reversal in the use of secondary raw materials in Bulgaria is based on the establishment of a modern material and technical base and the incorporation of low-waste and waste-free technology. New facilities for the processing of broken glass and waste textiles and paper have been built and have started operating in recent years. New industrial techniques have been mastered, but several traditional secondary raw materials are still not processed completely due to a shortage of production capacities. For example, in the absence of the necessary equipment and technology, plastic containers from cosmetics and household chemicals, old vehicle tires and conveyor belts are discarded or are stored away until "better times." There is an acute shortage of materials handling equipment and packaging material. The corporation has established a development and incorporation base to solve these problems. It is responsible for applied research and the design, technological development, planning and incorporation of scientific and technical achievements and advanced experience in this field.

The rapid incorporation of new production capacities and technology through the efforts of all ministries, departments and economic organizations is envisaged in two programs for the accelerated establishment of a sectorial material and technical base in 1984-1985 and in 1986-1990. Some measures have already been taken and some are in the stage of implementation. Four specialized enterprises are to be organized for the stripping, sorting and procurement of ferrous and nonferrous metals, new technological lines will be incorporated for the use of secondary nonferrous metals containing cobalt, silver and other precious metals, laboratories will be set up for their extraction from secondary raw materials and facilities will be built for the production of nonwoven fabric from textile waste products and for the processing of waste paper and other secondary raw materials.

The program is aimed at radical improvement in the quality of the collection, procurement and industrial processing of secondary resources to the point at which they can be used as primary materials in production. The use of secondary resources will increase when the procurement network is enlarged to serve more populated points and when sources of secondary materials and the list of technological waste products are augmented. The unappealing, heavy physical labor of workers in this industry will simultaneously be alleviated considerably.

It is also quite significant that the funds invested in this field will be recouped within 2-4 years. In addition to concentrating on the better use of secondary resources and the establishment of a modern material and technical base, we are giving considerable attention to cooperation and the exchange of experience with fraternal countries.

Although the corporation was established a relatively short time ago, its specialists have already visited the Soviet Union, the GDR, the CSSR, Hungary



and several other countries to study their experience and investigate possibilities for cooperation, including work with the group of experts on secondary raw materials of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Material and Technical Supply Operations. The contacts established with related enterprises have proved that there are excellent possibilities for the exchange of experience, technology and machinery. For example, in the USSR our specialists learned about the technology and equipment for breaking up large pieces of cast iron and adapting defective dry cell batteries, in the GDR they saw equipment for the sorting of steel alloys and learned about the use of the polyethylene packaging of cosmetics and household chemicals, in the CSSR they saw installations where paper bags were cleaned for recycling, in Hungary they learned about technology for the recycling of down and feathers, etc.

The Soviet experience in compiling balance sheets of secondary resources and the experience of the CSSR in the management and operation of transport vehicles used in the collection and recycling of secondary resources are of interest to us.

This is far from a complete list of all of the possibilities for the dissemination of positive experience in this area and our scientific and technical cooperation with CEMA countries. We believe that it will grow broader and deeper in other fields as well in the future because this is dictated by the requirements of the present day, the interests of our populations and the traditional friendly relations between our countries.

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#### Hungarian Program

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[Article by Doctor Gyorgy Matsik, director general of the Mech Trust,  
Hungary: "The Program for the Collection and Use of Secondary Raw Materials  
in Hungary"]

[Text] In the past 10 years more and more attention has been paid to the efficient and economical use of materials and energy and of all available resources in the national economy of the Hungarian People's Republic, just as in other fraternal countries. Part of this work entails the collection of more waste products and their processing and use as secondary raw materials on a broader scale. Besides this, this promotes the conservation of materials and energy and protects the environment.

This objective was included in the basic directions of national economic development in Hungary as early as the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1976-1980). In 1979 the Hungarian Council of Ministers published a decree on the compilation of a comprehensive program for the establishment of the necessary conditions to increase the collection and processing of waste products suitable for further use, increase their industrial consumption as secondary raw materials and develop the necessary organizational network. A program for the use of

waste products and secondary raw materials was drawn up and ratified by the Hungarian Council of Ministers as part of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) and laid the foundations for the successful organization of this work.

According to the program, the quantity of waste and by-products used in production should increase by 30 percent between 1980 and 1985, and secondary raw materials should represent 5 percent of total resources used in industry by 1985. To this end, the program envisaged the enlargement and modernization of the procurement network, the enlargement of existing facilities and the establishment of new ones to secure the industrial preparation of collected waste and its use as a secondary raw material on a broader scale.

The program further stipulates that this should gradually extend to all types of waste that can be recycled and used economically. They include the waste products of agriculture and the food industry, slag heaps and quarries, ashes from power plants, nonregenerable waste rubber and man-made materials, ferrous slag, used oil and rubber tires suitable for retreading.

The program is open-ended: The completion of the assignments listed in it will depend on the resources allocated for this purpose in the Sixth Five-Year Plan and the list of objectives could be lengthened or shortened with a view to accumulated experience and knowledge. It is noteworthy that the program does not include the kind of waste products that can be used as energy resources because they are covered in the program for the development of power engineering during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

A total of 10.3 billion forints will be allocated to carry out the program for the enlargement of the procurement network and the preparation of waste products for industrial use. The primary responsibility for these capital investments has been assigned to state enterprises and cooperatives. Economic incentives instituted on 1 January 1980 are aiding in the development of enterprise funds for the establishment of more favorable conditions for the utilization of secondary raw materials. The funds are supplemented by state subsidies and bank credit.

The basic provisions of credit policy and the competitive nature of state subsidies put the use of waste products among the highest priorities. Enterprises and cooperatives wishing to obtain bank credit or a state subsidy must draw up competitive bids. These are then compared and the definite sequence is established with a view to the basic criteria of profitability, the length of the recoupment period, the replacement of imports, the fulfillment of environmental protection requirements, etc.

The environmental protection fund can serve as an additional source of financing for investments which do not meet credit requirements but are valid from the standpoint of environmental protection.

The Hungarian State Committee for Materials and Prices is coordinating the work on the program for the use of waste products and secondary raw materials.

The work on the program indicates that its comprehensive nature, valid aims and thoroughly substantiated undertakings are effectively promoting the

collection and use of secondary raw materials on a broader scale in the Hungarian national economy.

Data on the procurement of waste products in 1981-1983 and the preliminary data on 1984 assignments indicate that the rates of utilization are stable for the majority of categories of secondary raw materials and are within program guidelines. Great advances have been made in the collection and use of scrap nonferrous metal, especially aluminum and lead. The projected 1984 volume is 30.7 percent greater than the 1980 volume.

After recycling facilities had been enlarged, the quantity of silver extracted from photographic materials and industrial waste containing precious metals increased appreciably. The retreading of worn rubber tires turned out to be quite productive. The number of retreads in 1984 was almost 345 percent as great as the 1980 figure, and they accounted for 29 percent of all tires in the country and 20 percent of the tires on trucks and agricultural equipment.

There has been a clear tendency toward a decrease in procurement volumes of production waste and a decline in the proportion accounted for by this waste in the total quantity of collected waste products. The main reason is the improvement in enterprise operations in line with the government program of material and energy conservation: More effort is being made to reduce the quantity of waste and defective products and to incorporate low-waste technologies. Secondly, the vertical use of waste increased at some enterprises. Thirdly, more waste is being recycled from one enterprise to another without going through the procurement network.

This is a positive tendency in national economic development, even though it complicates the work on the program for the collection and use of waste products, and this should probably be taken into account in program-related performance evaluations.

The lower percentage of production waste in the total quantity of collected waste products could be balanced by a sharp increase in the amount of household waste collected. This is the exclusive responsibility of procurement organizations. The dynamic growth of procurements of different types of waste products in residential neighborhoods is illustrated in the table below (1980 = 100):

<u>Type of waste</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
Ferrous metals	119.3	157.1
Nonferrous metals	117.9	161.2
Paper	103.4	111.4
Textiles	101.1	103.7

This increase in neighborhoods in recent years has been the result of many undertakings, including the following:

The cancellation of the production tax on collected scrap ferrous and non-ferrous metals, as a result of which they can be purchased at much higher

prices from the population. Sales were also stimulated by the rise in the purchase prices of other waste products--for example, the rise of 10-50 percent in the price of ferrous metals, 32 percent in the price of paper and 20 percent in the price of textiles;

The extensive development of the container system of collecting various waste products. There has been an increase in the number and size of recycling centers with waste bins holding 10 cubic meters. Special small bins for the collection of glass containers began to be set up in public places in 1982, especially near grocery stores for the collection of non-returnable glass containers. Besides this, closed bins began to be used for the collection of lead batteries with their electrolyte. This makes the observance of public safety and environmental protection regulations possible;

The authorization of the enterprises of the Mech Trust (especially in the capital) to rent out their recycling centers to the highest bidder. This contract system gives the tenant a financial incentive to collect more waste, to improve the quality of collected waste and to heighten quality by means of sorting. In 1984 the Mech Trust had 103 such enterprise recycling centers;

By the terms of an agreement concluded by the All-Hungarian Union of Cooperatives and the Mech Trust, cooperatives will be increasingly engaged in the collection of waste in residential neighborhoods, particularly in populated points with no recycling centers.

The positive experience accumulated in the work on the program for the use of waste products and secondary raw materials has extended beyond the collection of the types of waste stipulated in the program. In the paper industry, for example, the proportion accounted for by waste paper in the total quantity of fibrous materials used rose from 42.9 percent in 1980 to 44.2 percent in 1982 and 49 percent in 1984.

The waste products of man-made materials have been used much more extensively in the past 3 years, and over 80 percent are utilized on their production site. The large quantities of plastic film accumulated in agriculture began to be recycled in 1984. The quantity of recycled man-made materials increased by 172.2 percent between 1980 and 1983, and in 1984 the increase had reached 188.8 percent.

The quantity of agricultural by-products used as fodder tripled in 1984. The quantity of by-products in the food industry in 1984 was 12.6 percent greater than the 1981 figure.

The development financing guaranteed in the program for the use of waste products and secondary raw materials heightened the investment of capital in the broader use of waste. The construction of slag recycling shops at metallurgical enterprises was completed in 1984. This project was among the largest program-related investments. Work on the program has resulted in the construction of 145 facilities using waste products at a total cost of 11.5 billion forints; 83 were completed between 1981 and 1984. They include capacities for the recycling of scrap iron, retreading shops for worn tires,

equipment for the use of waste fabric and installations for the extraction of waste silver. Besides this, measures have been taken to utilize the waste products of agriculture and the food industry, etc. Another 40 projects were completed in 1984.

Expenditures in the Sixth Five-Year Plan for the stimulation of enterprises with good indicators of waste collection and the development of a procurement network will total around 700 million forints.

Work on the program is easily coordinated with changes in economic conditions. For example, 11 of the projected investments will probably not be made for reasons having to do, on the one hand, with the need to preclude the use of parallel capacities and, on the other, with considerations of profitability.

In line with the open-ended nature of the program, we include in it all capital investments for the attainment of goals stipulated in the program or investments entailing special credit or subsidies. For example, a porous concrete plant, which will be the largest installation for the use of the waste products of this industry, is being built in accordance with a decision of the Economic Commission of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. In the case of 85 of the projects completed between 1981 and 1984, production costs per unit of capital invested were approximately 20 percent in excess of the projected figure.

Public organizations have been increasingly helpful in the attainment of program objectives.

For example, in conjunction with the Mech Trust, the National Fatherland Front organized several events for the collection of waste at 350 recycling centers in 1983. More than 13 kilotons of useful materials were acquired at a cost of over 18 million forints. This sum was used by oblast soviets and the soviets of the appropriate populated points for public needs (for example, the construction of kindergartens and playgrounds, parks and athletic centers) and for the payment of financial rewards to activists and collectives performing good work in this area.

Besides this, with the consent and financial assistance of the State Committee for Materials and Prices, the National Fatherland Front organized a competition between committees of the National Fatherland Front in oblasts and populated points for the collection of waste products, in which awards will be conferred on the three best oblasts, the three best populated points and the most productive enterprise of the Mech Trust. More waste collection drives of this kind are to be held in the future.

The obligations of young people in line with the program for the use of waste products and secondary raw materials were recorded in the decisions of the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Komsomol. A comprehensive material conservation office was set up as part of the Association of Creative Youth to support efficiency proposals connected with the use of waste products and to aid in the implementation of new proposals. By the terms of an agreement on cooperation signed by the Hungarian Komsomol and the Mech Trust, young people will participate primarily in the collection of scrap iron and nonferrous

metals, and Pioneers will aid in the collection of waste paper and fabric in neighborhoods.

An analysis of the work on the program in 1984 and projected figures for 1985 attests to the continuation of existing positive trends and indicates that program goals for the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be attained in general. There is no question that the organizing activity and initiative of central agencies and economic organizations, efficient crediting practices and the considerable work to develop public awareness played a significant role in the fulfillment of the program.

There has also been a perceptible change in the approach of economic organizations and the population to the use of waste products and secondary raw materials. The connection between the program for the use of waste products and secondary materials and the government program of material and energy conservation and the connection between the former program and conservation and environmental protection assignments and objectives are becoming increasingly obvious. The completion of program assignments will help to reduce the quantity of imported materials in national economic supplies.

The positive experience in the implementation of the program for the use of waste products and secondary raw materials in the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) led to the compilation of a program for the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) for the sake of the further discovery of national economic reserves. This is reflected in the directives of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, published in connection with the 13th party congress, where speakers noted that central programs for the use of waste products and secondary raw materials and for energy conservation must be carried out more resolutely.

In our opinion, in addition to stipulating open-ended objectives, which have proved to be so effective in the past, the program drawn up for the Seventh Five-Year Plan should focus attention on the need to improve the quality of collected waste, to be more selective, to continue perfecting efficient technical and organizational methods, to develop domestic technology for the recycling and efficient use of waste products and secondary raw materials and to establish more direct contact between the locations of their production and consumption.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ACADEMY DISCUSSES WORK OF JOURNAL LATINSKAYA AMERIKA

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 pp 150-154

[Article by N. Kalmykov, candidate of historical sciences: "In the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium"]

[Text] At its 7 June 1984 session the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium discussed the work of the journal LATINSKAKYA AMERIKA (LATIN AMERICA).

Academician P. Fedoseyev, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who chaired the session, emphasized the urgent need to study the problems of Latin America, where the peoples' liberation struggle is expanding. This dictated in the first instance the Section's decision to consider the question of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, which has carried out a great deal of work but which needs help in the light of new tasks, which have become more complex today. These tasks are related to the importance of an intensified analysis and comprehensive treatment of the major shifts in Latin American society and of the intensive development of revolutionary processes on the continent, as well as to the need for very active work to expose U.S. imperialism, which is behaving in a particularly aggressive and insolent manner there.

S. Mikoyan, doctor of historical sciences and editor-in-chief of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, presented a report at the meeting. I. Grigulevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the commission which oversees the work of the journal, presented a supplementary report. They painted a detailed picture of the journal's development since it was founded in 1969. Originally the journal came out six times a year in Russian. Now its issues are published monthly both in Russian and Spanish. The Russian edition has subscribers in 39 countries and the Spanish edition has subscribers in 56 countries.

As it is comprehensive in nature, the journal treats all the main aspects of social life in the Latin American countries, as well as their history and culture. The problems of the class struggle and liberation movement on the continent, as well as the activities of the communist and workers parties occupy a central place in the publication. The pages of this monthly contain extensive coverage of socialist construction in Cuba, and they show the historical significance of the Cuban revolution. The editorial staff devotes top-priority attention to relations between the USSR and the other socialist states, on the one hand, and the Latin American countries, on the other. The journal has a permanent section headed "USSR-Latin America." One of the most important areas of the journal's work involves exposing bourgeois and revisionist concepts of social development.

It is not only researchers from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Latin America who work together on the journal: they are joined by Latin American specialists from other academic centers in the country, as well as representatives of related disciplines--orientalists, specialists in international affairs, etc. The editorial staff has established comradely contacts with Latin American specialists in the fraternal socialist countries. Leaders of the Latin American communist parties and progressive scholars of the capitalist countries appear in the journal's pages.

The journal carries out certain coordinative functions in the development of Soviet Latin American studies. It regularly holds scholarly discussion sessions and publishes the materials from those sessions. The speakers emphasized that LATINSKAYA AMERIKA is not only a professional platform for scholars. It is also a socio-political publication, which attempts to acquaint the wider community with the life of the continent. For this reason the editorial staff devotes particular attention to the presentation of materials and the make up of the issues. Special issues devoted to particular themes are published.

Certain inadequacies in the journal's work were noted in the report and the supplementary report. A number of difficulties can be explained by factors which are objective from the viewpoint of the editorial staff. For example, the comparatively small number of pages in each issue makes it difficult to publish extensive, problem-solving articles. However, there are quite a few weaknesses, the elimination of which depends on better work by the editorial staff, on the activities of all of its members and on the assistance given to the journal by the Academic Council of the Latin American Institute and the Bureau of the Economics Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The following people spoke during the discussions on the report and the supplementary report: Academicians A. Yegorov, A. Rum-



yantsev and A. Samsonov; V. Vol'skiy, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Latin America and doctor of economic sciences; N. Leonov and M. Kudachkin, members of the journal's editorial staff and candidates of historical sciences; S. Semenov (Institute of Social Sciences) and E. Litavrina (Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov).

It was noted that during its 15 years of existence LATINSKAYA AMERIKA has carried out useful work on the development of Soviet Latin American studies and the dissemination of propaganda regarding its achievements; it is making its contribution to the struggle against imperialism's aggressive policies and reactionary ideology. The journal has come to occupy a worthy place in Soviet Latin American studies; it has played a positive role in the training of its personnel and in the strengthening of cooperation between Soviet and foreign scholars.

The speakers pointed out that new processes in the world economy, as well as changes in the class structure of Latin American society and in the forms of the anti-imperialist struggle on the continent, pose every more complex issues for Marxist scholars. Major shifts in the development of society, increased dynamism in political life and a diversity of forms in the mass movements of workers and in the anti-imperialist actions of the people characterize Latin America at the present time. The successes of socialist construction in Cuba, the development of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua, the struggle of the working class and other groups of working people from the Latin American countries against the multinational corporations, the upswing in the anti-fascist struggle in Chile and Uruguay, expanding actions in support of democracy in Argentina and Brazil, and the armed insurgency movement in El Salvador and Guatemala are all acquiring particular significance. At the same time the expansionist features in the politics of the U.S. ruling circles with regard to the peoples of Latin America are growing stronger: American imperialism does not limit itself to all-around support for the oligarchical forces; it is resorting to methods of direct armed aggression in the region. The situation requires a skillful combination of efficient research, profound scientific analysis of current problems and a closer link between theory and practice.

Under conditions of a worsening ideological struggle and a sharply deteriorating international situation, Soviet Latin American specialists face complex new tasks of intensified research on current phenomena and processes in the socio-economic and political development of Latin America. This significantly increases the role and responsibility of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA; and of other academic publications which treat events on the continent. Today it is not enough to limit oneself to accurate, effective coverage of these events. It is essential to

participate more actively in the ideological process, in the formation of the readers' Marxist-Leninist world view.

The session participants specified timely subjects which the journal must treat more intensively and systematically. Above all, these are fundamental economic problems and the discovery of the reasons for the structural crisis in Latin America. At present few articles are being published on the agrarian-peasant problem, on the forms and methods of exploitation of the working people or on the dynamics of unemployment. Other topics which deserve more attention are: a classification of Latin American countries in terms of their socio-economic development level, the general and the specific in this development, the history of Latin American social thought, etc.

At the session significant attention was devoted to questions of how to further increase the journal's international authority, how the journal should be developed and disseminated and how to strengthen its ties with readers in various countries. In particular, a proposal was put forward concerning the translation of the journal's materials into languages other than Spanish.

As the participants in the discussion pointed out, the role of scholarly journals in the general system of scientific information is increasing, given social conditions which are changing rapidly and growing more complex. In this regard, particular responsibility rests with publications which are comprehensive in nature; they bring together the efforts of representatives from several related disciplines; they are designed not only for specialists, but also for the more general reader, and they are directed simultaneously at a domestic and foreign audience. For this reason it was right and timely for the Section to discuss one of the academic journals of this type. It was proposed to carry out a series of discussions on the work of academic journals in order to discover ways to increase their efficiency as levers for the effective popularization of the results of scientific research.

Having approved in general the work of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, the Social Sciences Section adopted a decree aimed at improving this work, at further developing Soviet Latin American studies, at increasing the effectiveness of scientific research on Latin American problems, at strengthening ties between science and practice and at mobilizing all Latin American specialists for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the June and December (1983), February and April (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

As indicated in the Section's decree, LATINSKAYA AMERIKA should consider that its main task is to cover the fundamental problems of the continent's social development; to provide theoretical

generalization of the experience of the class struggle and the liberation movement, as well as of the role and place of the region's countries in present-day international relations; to popularize the experience gained by the USSR and the other countries of the socialist alliance in joint work with the Latin American states and to expose the aggressive course of the USA in this region. The decree called for the journal to expand its publication of documents and materials from the fraternal communist parties and from progressive foreign scholars, as well as effective comments on the most important events in the life of the communist parties.

It was suggested that the journal's editorial staff should ensure that in 1984-1985 it will publish a series of articles on a number of complex and controversial questions of Latin American development, including the political and economic problems of capitalism, expansion of the multinational corporations, changes in social structure, agrarian relations and the peasant movement, the development of social thought, etc. It was recommended that the quality of the critical-bibliographic work be raised. Specific measures were outlined to ensure that the journal receives effective academic-methodological assistance from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Latin America, as were measures to strengthen the journal's editorial staff and to expand its circulation.

The Section recommended that the bureau of the Academy's humanities divisions should discuss at its sessions over the next year and a half the work of the journals and other periodical publications which come under their jurisdiction.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

URUGUAY, BRAZIL ELECTIONS, FUTURE OF NEW REGIMES VIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 5-7

[Editorial: "Elections in Uruguay and Brazil...What Next?]

[Text] Late last year and early this year the attention of the entire world was attracted to Latin America because, aside from everything else, presidential elections took place for the first time in Uruguay (in November 1984) after 11 years of military rule and in Brazil (January 1985) after 20 years of rule by the military-technocratic elite. This month both elected presidents, Julio Maria Sanginetti, the leader of the bourgeois "Colorado" Party of Uruguay, and Tancredo de Almeida Neves, leader of the Democratic Alliance Coalition in Brazil, assumed their duties.

An historic stage of political development, which was far from being the same in both countries, has come to an end. One is struck by the differences. A regime of the harshest tyranny raged until very recently in Uruguay. Thousands of prisoners languished in prisons and were subjected to torture. Tens and hundreds of thousands of Uruguayans were forced to emigrate. Only a few months before the elections permission was given for political emigres to return and political prisoners (but not all, we should note) were freed. In Brazil the period of repression belonged to relatively older times--the opposition parties have already been permitted to participate in political life for about eight years.

But what makes it possible for us to compare the processes taking place in both countries? First of all, the fact that we are dealing with the removal of a military elite from the control of the visible levers of power, with the transition of the organs of state government into the hands of civilians and with the replacement of dictatorial forms of rule with bourgeois-democratic forms. In both cases (and this was typical of Bolivia and Argentina as well) there was a myth put out by certain Western political scientists to the effect that the development of Southern hemisphere countries led to a strengthening of state

order which--in the form of military regimes--was capable of ensuring stable socio-economic growth for long periods.

Of course, in all these cases we are not talking about the voluntary political "retirement" of the military. The foundations of the military dictatorships were shaken by the inability to cope with snowballing economic problems, by development which reminds one of what it is like to run up an escalator which is carrying one relentlessly downwards, and, as a consequence of all this, by the dissatisfaction of the overwhelming majority of the population, multiplied by the democratic aspirations of the working masses. In Uruguay, for example, the GNP fell 5 percent in the six months before the election; the cost of living increased 59 percent, and the per capita foreign debt was one of the highest in the world. During the period of military rule the country experienced a sharp increase in the absolute impoverishment of the masses: at present every third Uruguayan child lives in a family which is below the "official poverty line." This process is also characteristic of Brazil, where the military were in power for many years. In order to pay off the colossal foreign debt the country was forced to sharply increase exports by reducing domestic consumption, and this has a direct influence on the standard of living of the broad strata of the population.

Historical experience shows that ruling factions may react differently to the prospect of change in the form of rule, a change which is fraught with the possibility that their power may be weakened. In some cases, as for example in tsarist Russia, they blindly support to the bitter end a policy which is graphically characterized by the famous words "hold on and do not let go." In other cases they prefer to lose a part in order to save something. They understand that the longer they cling to governmental forms which are doomed by history the more decisive will be the people's struggle and the more radical will be the circles which come to political leadership.

At the same time the ruling class reacts to the prospect of change in the forms of rule as if it were a process which could in no way lead to a weakening of its power. And it is this approach which obviously played a deciding role in the regime's "decompression" process, which was started in Brazil under President Gaizel, and which subsequently grew into a process of liberalization. In the final analysis it prevailed, even with the removal of the Uruguayan "gorillas," who led the country into a dead end of insoluble conflicts after the 1973 coup. However, there is one particular feature which is typical of events in both countries. The holding of elections does not mean the complete removal from power of those forces which have ruled these countries in recent years.

Upon leaving the center stage of political life, the command of the armed forces in both Uruguay and Brazil have retained their own positions and enormous influence. According to an agreement reached between the military regime and the opposition parties in Uruguay, the National Security Council, headed by the president, will continue to function along with the Constituent Assembly until the end of 1985. The Council includes not only the ministers of internal and foreign affairs, but also the defense minister and the commanders of the three branches of the armed services. Brazil is also taking a unique path to democratization--by holding indirect elections (the president is elected by a collegium of electors).

The limited field of activity and the relative political immobility to which the military doom the civilian governments in both countries, result not only from the traditionally autonomous position of the armies, which is typical of the majority of the countries in the region. They are also a result of the fact that the army in these countries is not demoralized as, for example, the Argentine Army was following its defeat in the "Malvinas" war against Great Britain. As well as by the fact that the military realistically take into account the consequences of the Argentine experience of democratization, in the course of which the autonomy of the military elite was fragmented. In both countries the army command still has opportunities to carry out another coup. The awareness of this threat by itself exerts a very strong psychological effect on the minds and actions of the leaders and on a significant portion of the functionaries of the bourgeois political parties and even on their electorate.

In all probability this also explains the resemblance of the political transformations which are taking place in the southern hemisphere countries. Without a change in the nature of state power or a purge of the key units of the state apparatus the struggle for democratization may prove to be a time of missed opportunities.

However, once begun, the process of liberalization turns into one which is difficult to reverse. Like the waters of a mountain river which break through a dam in a flood period, it goes beyond the barriers set for it "from above"; it acquires a might which is not easy to deal with. A rapid politicization of the broad popular masses takes place, and their demonstrations grow stronger.

The political forces which have come to power are attempting to direct the upswing of the mass democratic movement into a calmer channel: on the one hand, in order to placate the military, on the other, to raise their own authority. To a certain degree the content of the election platforms and speeches provides evidence of this. They set out measures aimed at increasing direct investment in the economy and in reviving it, as well as controlling



inflation; they also call for certain constitutional reforms, and a re-examination of the question of to reduce foreign indebtedness.

The aim of these forces is to sow in the mass consciousness hardy seeds of the idea that a gradual transition from the forms of limited bourgeois democracy to a fuller democracy transforms society into something similar to the "Western democracies." In addition, another idea which is sometimes planted is that under conditions of moderate bourgeois democracy it will be possible to emerge from a crisis situation gradually and to enjoy the favors of the imperialist "patrons"--the northern colossus and its European allies--in order to defuse and make unpopular within the army the idea--which is sleeping but not dead--held by the reactionary generals of a new coup, and also to weaken the burden of the foreign debt. However, for the Western powers, which are experiencing an extended economic depression, the foreign indebtedness of the Latin American countries is not only a way to give but also a way to exert political pressure, an opportunity to manipulate the on-going process of democratization.

Thus, the prospects for the process are determined by the complicated interaction of an entire complex of internal and external factors. There is no doubt that the determining role is played by answers to questions of who (as well as how and on which platform) will come to head the movement of the broad popular masses, who will be able to get the working classes behind him and where he will lead them. Of course, from this viewpoint the years of repression did not pass without consequence. Thousands of the most politically conscious and consistent fighters for democracy were destroyed. Many of those who remain alive are still deprived of their political rights.

Nonetheless, it is hardly likely that events will develop according to the scenario of those who only recently thought that they controlled them. The leftist forces, which reflect the interests of the popular masses, and especially the communists, as well as all genuinely democratic circles are filled with determination to lead society to a new stage, not to allow it to mark time.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

'INFORMATION IMPERIALISM' OF U.S., WEST EUROPE CRITICIZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 14-27

[Article by Yu.B. Kashlev: "Information Imperialism"]

[Excerpts] In recent years the term "information imperialism" has been encountered with increasing frequency. It came into circulation after it was used in 1973 by Finland's former president, Urho Kekkonen, in one of his speeches; he pointed to a situation of extreme inequality which had developed in the area of the international information exchange, as well as the monopolization of the mass media by several countries and gigantic corporations, which impose their world outlook and political views on whole peoples and which interfere in their spiritual life. Since then this topic has become a subject of bitter debate at many international forums, including those held within the framework of the UN, UNESCO and especially the movement of the non-aligned nations. The latter, for objective reasons, have gradually become the primary nations to initiate the formulation of this problem on a worldwide scale.

At various international meetings Western representatives usually speak out against the very idea of "information imperialism." Some of them, while recognizing the existence of this phenomenon, cast doubt on the accuracy of the term, claiming that imperialism cannot be divided into any narrow categories such as political, economic or information imperialism, etc. At the same time the most serious, skilled specialists are proving that the basic features of the present-day organization of the bourgeois mass media at the national and international levels were revealed within the system of signs of imperialism which were formulated by V.I. Lenin.

In this area the concentration of production and capital is expressed in the continuing monopolization of the capitalist information market in the hands of a few powerful concerns. The merger of bank and industrial capital manifests itself in the formation of powerful financial-industrial-information (publishing) groups and in the absorption of informational companies

by gigantic industrial and banking corporations. There is also another sign of imperialism: the export of capital (along with the export of goods): the Western informational monopolies widely export abroad, especially to the developing countries, their communication equipment and propaganda output, and simultaneously they attempt to lay their hands (openly or more often covertly) on publishing houses, radio and television stations and other information organs.

A characteristic manifestation of imperialism is the formation of powerful multinational corporations in the communications sphere. Today a few dozen multinationals completely dominate in the production and sale of electronic equipment for radio, television and the press, communications satellites, computers, etc. One is literally struck by another sign of imperialism: the division of the world into spheres of influence: to this day the largest imperialist telegraph agencies of the USA, England and France, as well as their radio and television corporations, have their own "zones."

Imperialism as state monopoly capitalism is characterized by the close interweaving of the interests and functions of the nation's leadership and of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. Although the leading imperialist countries have both state and private mass information organs, on the most important questions of the ideological cultivation of the masses, they act in the same direction, i.e., in the interests of preserving the capitalist system. As for foreign policy propaganda, the bourgeois state has created a special government apparatus which supplements the foreign propaganda activity of private information organs, and in many cases actually directs it. In essence a state-monopoly apparatus of foreign policy propaganda has been created in the West in recent years.

In general, information imperialism represents a special form of the struggle being waged by the capitalist system, which is becoming obsolete, against revolutionary, progressive forces of the present, against world socialism and the national-liberation movement; it is a struggle which is being conducted mainly by means of ideology, propaganda and mass information.

#### The situation in Latin America

The fact that the majority of Latin American countries gained political independence a long time ago is the cause of the earlier (in comparison with Asia and Africa) formation of a national press and subsequently of radio and television, and it has influenced the development level of all the mass media. Today about 2,500 newspapers (including 1,160 dailies) are published on the continent; there is an average of 72 copies of daily newspapers per thousand population. Radio broadcasting is

the largest communication channel. In 1981 the countries of the continent had 4,800 broadcasting and transmitting radio stations, and the total number of radios amounted to 116 million (moreover, it had doubled in the last ten years).<sup>3</sup> Given the population's massive illiteracy and the poor development of the other information media, radio broadcasting plays a particularly important role in rural regions; it serves as the main channel for the formation of public opinion.

Television has developed rapidly, especially in recent decades. According to UNESCO data for 1983 the Latin American countries had in operation 1,000 television stations and more than 40 million television sets, which amounts to 111 television sets per thousand population.<sup>4</sup>

On all the specified parameters Latin America noticeably exceeds Asia and Africa. At the same time the continent as a whole and nearly all of the Latin American countries taken individually failed to achieve the norm which UNESCO considers optimal for providing the population with information. This norm calculated per thousand population amounts to 200-250 copies of daily newspapers, and the same number of radios and television sets. It is essential to take into account the fact that apart from the significant disproportion in "information saturation" among the continents's countries (a majority of the media is concentrated in Brazil, Mexico and Argentina), Latin America is characterized by a concentration of the mass information organs mainly in the capitals or in one or two major cities of each country (Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, etc.).

At first glance, the relatively high level of development in the mass communication media should lead to greater independence for Latin America in the information area in comparison with Asia and Africa. In practice, however, the opposite picture is observed. Historically Latin America has become a "laboratory," in which U.S. imperialism, while attributing top-priority strategic significance to the continent, has tested and implemented methods for broad ideological expansion through the information media, first through the press and subsequently through radio and television. This activity was always an organic component of U.S. foreign policy and economic expansion; the peoples of Latin America have inevitably become the first object of that expansion. As a result the continent's mass information media have been very dependent on North American imperialism for a long time.

In the press sphere this manifests itself first of all in the fact that the American UPI and AP agencies have monopolized the supply of international information to Latin American newspapers and magazines. These newspapers and magazines, as well as the telegraph agencies in a majority of Latin American countries, can

hardly compete with UPI and AP because they do not have an adequate network of correspondents abroad; nor do they have the most modern technical means for collecting and transmitting information (communication satellites, computers, etc.). In addition, by various invisible and visible means the Americans have established financial control over many Latin American newspapers, magazines and publishing associations, especially the "major press." In places where the participation of foreign capital is prohibited or limited, they use figureheads to create so-called "national" organs of information, which are in fact completely or partly their property.

As a result a somewhat paradoxical situation develops: states which possess a comparatively developed system of press organs, are deprived to a significant measure of their own information and receive an "information allowance" from one foreign power--the USA. For example, UPI and AP supply approximately three-quarters of the entire volume of the international information which is published by the "major press" of Latin America. This information contains a great deal about events in the USA, as well as propaganda for Washington's foreign policy and the "American way of life." A one-sided, biased picture, consistent with the spirit of the aggressive, anticommunist aims of the U.S. ruling class is created. The essence of many events which take place even in Latin America itself is crudely distorted. For example, in 1982 the reports of the leading Venezuelan newspapers EL NACIONAL and EL UNIVERSAL on the Salvadoran elections were analyzed. It turned out that out of 160 articles on this subject only four had reports from the Salvadoran opposition as their source, and nearly all the rest had UPI and AP stories as their source.

The Latin American countries' information dependence on the USA manifests itself with particular clarity in the area of television. The very establishment of this most modern channel of mass information on the continent took place under the virtual control of the North American television companies. The UNESCO report entitled "The Cultural Significance of the Cinema and Television in Latin America" says: "The television companies of the entire continent directly or indirectly depend on the major American corporations and the greater the demand for the latest technical equipment and trained specialists the stronger is this dependence. In Latin America the United States possesses a monopoly on the supply of new equipment, film, on the training of technical specialists and on the investment of capital which is essential for local television." 5

The "three whales" of U.S. television, the ABC, NBC and CBS companies, which control hundreds of television stations in the Latin American countries and which are the leading shareholders in them, have created pseudo-regional television associations to

promote their own output, for example, the "Organization of the Latin American Television International Network" (LATINO), which encompasses Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela and Ecuador, and the main point is that they have literally filled the air with American television programs. In general 80 percent of all the programs on Latin American television are made in the USA or are produced with American participation or according to American recipes. In Brazil 78 out of every 109 hours of daily programming on national television are taken up with foreign, mainly American, programs. In Argentina 60 percent of air time on national television is given over to low-grade foreign programs, also mostly American. The Soviet journalist A. Medvedenko calculated that in the course of one day, more than half of the programming on five channels of television in the Argentine capital consisted of movies; 27 movies were shown, including 22 American movies and one (!) Argentine movie.<sup>6</sup>

When talking about the levers by which U.S. monopoly capital controls the organs of mass information in the Latin American countries, particular mention should be made of advertising. The economic expansion of American corporations everywhere is accompanied by the expansion of American advertising agencies, and in Latin America this is particularly noticeable. Today approximately ten of them control the advertising business in the region. In Brazil, for example, in the early 70's nine out of the 10 foreign advertising agencies which made up the "Brazilian Federation of Propaganda" were American.

In general, major monopoly capital--largely North American capital--accounts for 80 percent of all advertising in the "major press," on radio and television. The vital significance of advertising for organs of the press can be judged by which show that advertising provides 70 percent of the income of Latin American newspaper and magazine publishers, while sales provide only 30 percent. Advertisements occupy up to 60 percent of the volume of Latin American newspapers.

The conditions of commercial advertising make it possible for United States monopoly capital to exercise financial and political control over the press, radio and television in the Latin American countries, to undermine, even to eliminate unwelcome mass information organs and to replace them with their own or with organs acting as fronts. Of course, it would be incorrect--with regard to advertising and other economic levers for the management of Latin American mass information--to reduce the matter exclusively to the role and influence of North American monopolies. The countries of this region experienced the formation of their own national bourgeoisie a long time ago; they have powerful financial and industrial monopolies and groups, which are class allies of the American imperialist bourgeoisie but which also fully utilize their own opportunities to control

the organs of information and the corresponding process of exerting ideological influence over the masses. Nonetheless, it is obvious that in no other region of the globe does American capital play such a large role in the management and manipulation of local mass information organs as in Latin America.

The picture of U.S. ideological expansion in Latin America would not be complete without an analysis of what Washington is doing along government lines, through the system of especially created government services. It can be said that in this regard the Latin American region has always been the first "laboratory" and target of the USA: the activities of the first American government institutions of foreign policy propaganda were aimed here; American international radio broadcasts were started in this region, here the well known "Peace Corp" began its work, etc.

Today Latin America is one of the main objects of the work of the United States Information Agency (USIA), the world's largest propaganda organization. A significant percentage of broadcasts by the Voice of America radio station is aimed at the countries of this continent. Three-quarters of the USIA's so-called bi-national centers, through which propaganda work is carried out in a pro-American spirit by Americans and local personnel, is concentrated in Latin America. One hundred of the 127 USIA cultural centers located abroad are in Latin America.

Local USIA divisions, which operate at American embassies, have at their disposal enormous political and financial means (the total 1985 budget for USIA was \$849 million). They receive quickly by teletype from Washington headquarters an enormous volume of official information, which is transmitted free of charge to local mass information organs, as well as a multitude of television programs and videocassettes; they publish locally or subscribe to magazines, brochures, etc. For example, the USIA publishes especially for Latin America the magazines DIALOG, INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS (which is what the Spanish version of PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM is called), FACETAS, PERSPECTIVAS ECONOMICAS. Important regional centers have been established in Buenos Aires, Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro to publish American literature in translation. All this is designed for the global ideological cultivation of Latin American public opinion, especially the opinion of "influential circles." "It is important to remember," said Maurice Bishop at one time, "that every U.S. embassy has not only a military attache, the head of the local CIA division and a Peace Corp representative, but it also has the head of the local division of the USIA, who works psychologically on representatives of the authorities, trade union leaders, publishers, columnists, teachers, heads of organizations, and anyone who can serve imperialist goals."

Within the framework of the "crusade" against communism announced by R. Reagan, Washington has in recent years expanded the scale of its ideological cultivation of the population in foreign countries, including Latin America. The worst cliches of anti-communist propaganda have been taken up as weapons once again. The bourgeois organs of mass information stubbornly whip up falsifications about the "Soviet threat," the "adherence" of the socialist countries to "international terrorism," about the "hand of the Kremlin," which supposedly manipulates the national-liberation and anti-war movements. Similar fabrications were used as a pretext for the armed attack on little Grenada; Washington is now resorting to the same method as it prepares for aggression against Nicaragua.

The anti-Cuba propaganda campaign, fanned by official Washington, as well as by the American monopoly information organs and their proteges, has reached an unprecedented scale in some Latin American countries. As is well known, Washington has created a new anti-Cuban diversionary radio station, Radio Marti; millions of dollars have been allotted for it.

Also, the Reagan administration is devoting greater attention to radio broadcasting. The current administration has appropriated \$1 billion to strengthen the capacities of Voice of America, which, as already mentioned, aims a significant portion of its broadcasts at Latin America. A story has emerged that in Costa Rica the USIA is renting a private station especially for broadcasting to Nicaragua.

A special system of direct television communication (the "Worldnet" system) between USIA headquarters in Washington and the agency's divisions in foreign capitals, including those in Latin America; several times a week this system is used to transmit American propaganda programs designed largely for local journalists.

Washington allocates a large role to Latin America "Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy," which was announced in 1983. An impressive series of actions is being carried out to create within the Latin American countries the "infrastructures of democracy," in other words pro-American "fifth columns" in the form of youth, student and other organizations; "assistance" is granted to the corresponding mass information organs, which cultivate "future leaders of nations." This program was designed for a 20 year period.

Unfortunately, the limits of a journal article do not permit one to describe the many other channels of U.S. ideological-propaganda expansion in Latin America (including Central Intelligence Agency auspices or the training of personnel and "missionaries" of the so-called "linguistic institutes," etc.). However, what



has been described above makes it possible to talk about long-term, goal-oriented activity, which is aimed at preserving the dominant political and economic positions of the USA in this region and the prevention of revolutionary, progressive changes here. And this has always constituted the essence of all of Washington's foreign policy doctrines with regard to Latin Americanism," "continental solidarity," "mutual dependence," etc. up to the most recent actions of the Reagan administration.

In support of the new information order

As long ago as the early 70's the developing countries collectively posed the question of the need to put an end to the practice of information imperialism, and they put forward the slogan of the new international information order (NIIO). It has been talked about at many forums of the non-aligned movement, and it has been noted in the decisions of all of the recent summit level conferences of the non-aligned countries. At the same time this subject has become the subject of bitter debate at all world organizations, especially UNESCO.

The struggle for the NIIO is being carried out in two basic directions. The first is for the developing countries to establish their own national information organs, as well as regional and international information associations. Definite success has been achieved in this direction. A pool of information agencies from the non-aligned countries has been in operation for nearly 10 years; more than 80 agencies are members of this pool. Regional pools--OANA in Asia, PANA in Africa, and others--have been created.

The second direction involves the development of fair, democratic norms and rules for the international exchange of information, as well as the adoption by all world organizations of documents which would protect the sovereignty of the young liberated states in the information area and which would give them the opportunity to participate in the information exchange on the basis of equal rights. There have also been definite successes in this direction. At the initiative of the USSR and with the active support of the developing countries, UNESCO in 1978 adopted a well-known declaration about the contribution of the information media to the strengthening of peace and the struggle against racism, apartheid and war mongering. A number of other useful documents related to this topic also received approval at the UN and UNESCO.

At the same time it should be stated that real movement toward the creation of the NIIO is taking place slowly mainly because the developing countries lack those enormous material-financial resources which are required today to create modern systems of mass communication and because of the crude counter measures by the imperialist powers, primarily the USA, which rejects the

concept of the NIIO and tries to sabotage practical actions in this direction. The U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO and England's forthcoming withdrawal are an example of unacceptable blackmail with regard to international organizations, which are attempting to help the developing states in the information area. In the UN the USA invariably votes against resolutions in support of the NIIO.

What role do the Latin American countries play in this struggle? It should be said that as a result of the specific features of the region, which were discussed above (the development level of the information media, especially the great dependence on the U.S. information monopolies, the presence of relatively numerous local journalistic personnel, etc.), the Latin American countries were among the first to join the struggle for the NIIO and to help in the development of this concept. A contributing factor is the fact that the region has major scientific institutions are concerned with the problems of mass information, such as the Latin American Center of Transnational Research (ILET, Mexico City), the International Center of Higher Information Research (SIESPAL, city of Quito), the International Center of Research for Development (SSID, city of Bogota), the Institute of Research in the Area of Communications (ININCO, city of Caracas), and others. Several years ago the Latin American Association of Communication Researchers (ALAIC, city of Caracas) was established. These centers have produced several models of the new information order, or more accurately, several categories of communication ("alternative," "popular," "horizontal," "participative" etc.), which are being proposed as bases for the NIIO. The development of these concepts exerts a positive influence on the general international discussion about the democratic reorganization of the information exchange, although it should be recognized that most of them are linked exclusively to concrete conditions in Latin America; the main point is that they do not resolve the fundamental problem, which is to put an end to the information expansion of the USA in this and other regions of the world.

The Latin American countries are taking an active part in the discussion of information problems in UNESCO, at the UN, and in the non-aligned movement; moreover, they frequently take anti-imperialist positions. And it was in Latin America that the first regional UNESCO conference on policy in the area of communications was held (San Jose, 1976), and the worldwide conference on problems of cultural policy was held subsequently (Mexico City, 1982); they adopted important and useful resolutions on questions of information and culture.

Cuba should be singled out in particular because for many years it has consistently struggled against U.S. information imperialism at international forums, and it has defended the progres-

sive positions of the NIIO concept. At the latest conference of information ministers from the non-aligned countries (Jakarta, January 1984), a resolution in support of UNESCO was adopted at Cuba's initiative; it condemned subversive radio broadcasts, and specifically the American diversionary station "Radio Marti."

The Latin American countries are manifesting increasing interest in the activities of the International Program for the Development of Communications (IPDC), which was established as part of UNESCO. IPDC funds finance several projects in the region, including some in the training of printers, radio broadcast specialists, specialists in the development of rural media and in the manufacture of paper from ambary, etc. The IPDC has also extended assistance in the establishment of the Latin American Special Information Service Agency (ALASEI).

The struggle of the Latin American countries and of other developing countries against information imperialism, which is a struggle for the re-organization of the international information exchange on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights and equality of states takes place along various lines and in various forums. It is an integral part of the general ideological-political struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between the adherents of freedom for the peoples and the defenders of neocolonialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL'S INFLUENCE IN LATIN AMERICA EVALUATED

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[Article by N.Yu. Smirnova: "The Socialist International and Latin America Social Democracy"]

[Excerpts] In the late 70's and early 80's the revolutionary process in Latin America entered a new phase. As a result of the powerful upswing in the anti-dictator and anti-imperialist movement of the broad popular masses, which manifests itself in various forms depending on the concrete national situation, a process began by which reactionary, rightist authoritarian regimes were eliminated in a whole series of states on this continent, and the question of development which proceeds along a socialist path became a prospect for the future.

A characteristic feature of the present-day sharpening of the class struggle on the continent is the activization of social democracy, which offers a reformist, "third way," out of the crisis, an alternative to both the revolutionary and rightist bourgeois paths.

The 26th CPSU Congress, having noted the significant political weight of present-day social democracy, singled out two basic tendencies in the activities of this international force. On the one hand, social democracy is capable of doing a great deal for the defense of peace and democracy and in support of the national-liberation movement, and on the other, its leaders do not by any means always act in this direction; some of them are infected with the virus of anticommunism, and they frequently conduct a policy which is not in the interests of the working people.<sup>1</sup> Thus, social democracy is a complex, by no means monolithic phenomenon; multi-strata differentiation processes are taking place within its ranks; serious disagreements exist both within and as well as between the parties which make up the Socialist International (SI).

In the 70's the SI moved away somewhat from its previous Eurocentrist position, actively recruiting related forces throughout

the world to its ranks. The sharp growth in SI numbers began to occur almost entirely as a result of additions from the developing countries; moreover, the main flow of new "recruits" to social democracy came from Latin America. In the late 70's and early 80's the continent began to play an increasingly important role in the activities of international social democracy. This was related primarily to the increase in Latin America's significance in international relations and in the world economy and to the growth of revolutionary processes in the region as a result of the worsening structural crisis and the accelerating socio-political development.

By taking serious positions on a world scale as well as on the continent itself social democracy is trying to participate more actively in the class struggle in Latin America. In the last few years, while trying "not to miss the boat," and experiencing, in turn, the effect of the revolutionary process, the social democrats have undertaken a number of positive actions with the aim of increasing their influence on the continent. They have extended support to the revolution in Nicaragua, expressed themselves in favor of a political resolution to the crisis in El Salvador, opposed the dictatorial regimes of the Southern hemisphere and condemned aggressive actions against countries in this region. All this has helped to strengthen the positions of social democracy in the mass movement, and it has expanded opportunities for the Socialist International to further penetrate the continent. At the same time the anti-dictator and anti-imperialist (although inconsistent) initiatives of the social democrats are becoming an object of attentive study on the part of the communists, while the increasing similarity of the positions taken on a whole series of general democratic problems creates the preconditions for cooperation between them.

Undoubtedly the 1980's were marked both by the accelerated "exportation of social democracy" from Western Europe to Latin America and by an activization of local social-democratic parties. A whole complex of factors contributed to this.

The "social-democratic phenomenon" in Latin America should be viewed first of all in the context of inter-imperialist contradictions. To one degree or another Western European social democracy expressed the interests of "its" capital, which is locked in a bitter struggle with American capital for markets, sources of raw materials and spheres for the application of capital. The U.S. monopolies are related to the most reactionary circles of the local oligarchy, whose positions are most frequently ensured by dictatorial regimes. European capital, which uses more flexible methods, finds understanding and support from those groups of the local bourgeoisie which are interested in liquidating pro-American dictatorial regimes. For this reason it is no accident that the Socialist International's efforts to strengthen their

ties with the Latin American countries have found a response primarily among the political forces related to the above mentioned groups of the bourgeoisie.

Western European social democrats typically show a growing understanding of the danger to the fate of capitalism which is posed by the growing contradictions between the imperialist powers and the backward periphery. The 1974 energy crisis provided a substantial push toward this kind of re-evaluation of the global socio-economic situation. The SI's first serious contacts with Latin America occurred about this time; they were primarily with Mexico and Venezuela, which are major oil exporters. In recent years the intensification of the liberation struggle in a number of the continent's countries, the active struggle of nearly all the countries for the re-organization of international economic relations and against imperialist robbery have resulted in the special attention paid to Latin America by social democracy, which is concerned with keeping the developing countries within the framework of the capitalist world.

On the other hand, the actual worsening of the class struggle in Latin America forces the international bourgeoisie and its local allies to turn to ways to preserve their domination, ways which have shown their effectiveness in the Old World. And social democracy is one of those "tested ways"; the activation of social democracy on this continent testifies to the crisis of other models which preserve the domination of the bourgeoisie.

One of the factors contributing to the penetration of Latin America by social democracy is the relative (in comparison with Asia and Africa) maturity of production relations and social-class structures in a majority of the region's countries, by virtue of which the social-reformist concepts find more fertile soil here.

And, for their part, the social-reformist parties of the continent are moving actively to meet international social democracy. While speaking out against enslaving dependence on the USA and the military-police dictatorships related to it, these parties are experiencing an acute need to look to such an influential political force, as the SI seems to them, for support internationally. The Latin American social reformists are attempting to compensate for their own relative weakness in the political struggle in their countries by strengthening their foreign policy positions and by attracting the political and material support of the SI. They calculate that a close alliance with international social democracy will help to "push back" the continent's most reactionary forces as well as to restrain the growth of the masses' revolutionary inclinations. In sum, this will help social democrats advance to the forefront of political life. The respective parties of Venezuela, Costa Rica and Jamaica, and their

leaders, such as C.A. Perez, J.P. Gomez, M. Manley, etc. have played a special role in bringing together the Western European and the Latin American social democrats.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the activization of social democracy in Latin America consists of a bilateral process: on the one hand, the increased penetration of the continent by international social democracy and its center, the Socialist International, and on the other, a revival of local social reformism. In this interweaving of internal and external factors a main role clearly belongs to SI.

In the course of the 70's the SI expanded its "recruiting" to include in its ranks all possible potential adherents of social democracy in Latin America: bourgeois reformist and petty bourgeois parties, former insurgent organizations, nationalist movements, etc. In sum, while only two parties in Latin America and the Caribbean basin were SI members in 1971, by 1978 there were already 21 organizations participating in the work of the 14th SI Congress.<sup>3</sup> At the most recent congress, the 16th, which was held in Portugal in 1983, the Working People's Alliance of Guyana, the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Popular APRA Party (Peru) were confirmed as members with consultative status.

The increase in the number of parties which are part of the SI strengthened the existing disagreements and gave rise to new ones within this international organization: the conflicts between the developed and the developing countries began to be reproduced in the form of splits between parties which represent the two opposing groups of countries. The disagreements exist on the most fundamental questions: the essence of "democratic socialism" and ways to achieve it, "North-South relations," etc. As a rule, social democracy in Latin America criticizes capitalism more harshly than its Western European colleagues do. Clearly the explanation for this should be sought in the specific features of Latin American social democracy, which, in contrast with the Western European version, has in significant measure emerged ideologically and organizationally from populism and frequently continues to retain ties with it. "Kautskyism," the dominant feature of Western European social democracy, is present to a lesser degree. Also related to the "historical populism" of the nationalistic trend is the fact that the Latin American "wing" of social democracy criticizes the aggressive policy of the USA in the international arena more harshly. The SI has taken a generally positive position with regard to the national liberation movement in no small degree because of the pressure from the Latin Americans.

Thus there are reasons to suppose that participation by Latin American social democrats in the SI has contributed to the well-known leftward movement in the positions of international social democracy on the problems of the developing world. A major

landmark in this regard was the meeting of representatives from Western Europe with leaders from 16 reformist parties in the region, which took place in May 1976 in Caracas. The meeting adopted a resolution which for the first time in the history of social-democratic practice contained such important statements as a condemnation of dictators, an expression of solidarity with the victims of repression, recognition of the right of every country to choose its own path to freedom and justice and a demand for non-interference by foreign states and multinational corporations in the internal affairs of sovereign nations.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the inconsistency of some positions, this document testified to the adequate flexibility of the SI, which adopted some important goals of the Latin American socialists concerning relations with the USA and its hegemonic course on the continent. For its part, Latin American social democracy subscribed to the basic principles of the SI's theoretical and practical activities. This was expressed in the following: the adoption of the concepts of the "third way" and "democratic socialism" by Latin America social democracy, and especially by those parties which over the course of a long period of time found themselves or now find themselves in power; the organizational rapprochement with the European parties both inside and outside the framework of the SI; joint theoretical-ideological work with the aim of adapting social-democratic doctrines to regional and national conditions.<sup>5</sup>

Close contacts within the Center for the Study of Problems of Democracy in Latin America have particular significance for the ideological-theoretical rapprochement of the Western European and Latin American social democrats. The Center is working intensively on the concepts of the "third way" and "democratic socialism" with regard to this region, concepts which are fundamental to the SI.

While actively propagandizing "democratic socialism" in Latin America, the social democrats are trying to present it as the only path for the developing countries, as the path which will save them from poverty and backwardness and which will make it possible to avoid the "errors" of real socialism, as well as the injustices of the North American model of capitalism. In this regard the SI leaders have repeatedly talked about the need to realize in Latin America a path which is "between the Pinochet and Videla regimes," on the one hand, and the "Castro system," on the other, and they have pointed to the experience accumulated in Latin Europe and its value for the Latin American continent.<sup>6</sup> When he explained the meaning of the "third path" formula and "democratic socialism," the leader of the Radical Party of Chile, Anselmo Sule, said at the 16th SI Congress that democratic socialism is not an improved version of capitalism; he was not talking about any intention to save the latter from the crisis which it is experiencing. "We are proposing," said A. Sule,



"another alternative, the essence of which is the replacement of capitalism with a socialist society which is different from that proposed by Marxism-Leninism."<sup>7</sup>

No less instructive is the fate of social-democratic views in Latin America in the area of society's political organization, i.e. on questions of democracy, the class structure, the mechanisms for the exercise of power, the role of the working class, etc. While declaring themselves adherents of ideological and political pluralism, the social reformists in essence adopt completely the system of bourgeois democracy, fearing in this regard that the development of revolutionary processes on the continent would lead to the break down of the institutions of this class type of democracy. In recent years this has been illustrated most graphically by the example of Nicaragua. Some SI ideologues were trying to exert influence on the policy of the Sandinista government; they expressed themselves in favor of strengthening the "bases of pluralism," which would ensure that the levers of control remain with the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties (even if they do not enjoy the support of a majority of the electorate!). In practice, however, the principle of pluralism in their understanding leads to the exclusion of the masses from active political life, while it limits their participation in politics to voting, i.e., to the passive selection of platforms proposed by political parties competing among themselves for power in parliament. It is significant that the left wing of the Latin American socialists expresses serious reservations about the "Western democratic model" and advances various concepts of "popular participation" and "grass roots democracy," which are designed to supplement the mechanism of representative democracy with broad participation by the masses in the realization of government programs and in the management of society.<sup>14</sup>

Having declared itself a workers party, social democracy cannot fail to assign a prominent place in its ideological-political concepts to the working class and to its role in the construction of "democratic socialism." And it is workers who make up a significant portion of the membership and especially of the electorate of the continent's social democratic parties, and it is the working class that the leaders of this tendency appeal to in their research and their practical work. The social democrats are developing their activities among the working masses primarily along two lines, one stressing electoral propaganda and the other stressing trade unions. For the social democrats the worker is first of all a voter, and not an active participant in the political process who is capable of making decisions independently on all questions of production and social life. While rejecting the revolutionary path of social transformation, which assumes a radical invasion by the proletarian masses into the political sphere, the social democrats assign to the working class a role as a supporting force; in essence they reproduce

under Latin American conditions the reformist experience of "Kautskyism" and "Bernsteinism."

In their work along the second--trade union--line, the social democrats call on the workers "to strengthen their vocational organizations," which are defined as leading "instruments of class defense against exploitation." In this way the significance of political organization for the working class is reduced; the social democrats advance the thesis that their parties contain many classes; this essentially dissolves the role of the proletarian component. Further, many social democratic parties on the continent question the correctness and necessity of a distinct class approach. For example, the Democratic Left Party of Ecuador claims that the "very concept of 'social classes' is today an extremely debatable issue in Latin America."<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the course of social democracy in the political life of the Latin American countries can be described only as reformist. This Latin American reformism repeats the basic postulates of the Western European version. After all, its specific features include the fact that social reformism on the continent did not arise from a workers' movement; instead it was taken up as a weapon by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, and was subsequently applied to the workers' movement. These reformist inclinations in Latin America show a tendency to grow because the petty bourgeoisie and representatives of the new middle strata constitute a steadily increasing proportion of the social democratic parties, with a parallel reduction in the proportion of the working class.

At the same time the social democratic movement, especially at the mass level, has forces which reject class cooperation and which attempt to take consistently revolutionary positions. For this reason the processes of differentiation and demarcation within the movement will be strengthened, and this has great significance both for the prospects of the revolutionary process on the continent, as well as for cooperation with communists.

A major positive factor which stimulates the liberation struggle on the continent is social democracy's critical position with regard to rightist authoritarian regimes. In the 70's the SI rejected previous evaluations of the national liberation movement which said that it was the "the outcome of Soviet-Cuban influence." The documents of international social democracy confirmed that the issue does not involve any conspiracy or the "exporting" of revolution; instead, it involves a powerful upsurge in the social struggle which arose out of the sufferings of the broad popular masses. At its 16th congress the SI condemned the military and oligarchical regimes in Guatemala, El Salvador, Haiti, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, and it bound itself to "increase political support and measures of solidarity with the democratic

forces of these countries in order to accelerate the end of these regimes."<sup>16</sup> In their support for the struggle against dictators the social democrats are motivated primarily by moral and ethical considerations concerning the need to defend human rights and also by the fact that these regimes "cannot guarantee the sovereignty and independence of their countries."<sup>17</sup>

However, this does not exhaust the true reasons for the SI's nonacceptance of right-wing authoritarian regimes. Economic and socio-political factors should also be kept in mind. The leaders of social democracy are forced to take into account the popular masses' broad dissatisfaction with dictators. And while participating in the overall democratic movement, they are trying to attain hegemony within it. In addition, the following factors, in the opinion of the American sociologist J. Petras, play a no less important role in distancing the SI from authoritarian regimes; the firm long-standing ties between the dictatorships and the commercial-industrial circles in the USA, which frequently have brought them to power; the instability of these regimes and the unpopularity of the Latin American dictatorships in Western Europe.<sup>18</sup>

And these same factors, in turn, have resulted in support by the SI for a series of radical leftist organizations: SFNO, the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, the left wing of Bolivia's Democratic Popular Unity, the Revolutionary-Democratic Front of El Salvador and certain others. By supporting these organizations the SI is strengthening its authority as a "progressive force" among the broadest circles of Latin American public opinion. Another important stimulus for the socialists is the fact that with their policy they are hoping to turn these organizations on to the path of reformism.

The SI's strategic course of putting a brake on revolutionary processes and channelling them into a course which is advantageous to it is manifested most clearly today in regard to Nicaragua. Even before the victory of the Sandinista revolution, W. Brandt not only condemned the bloody Somoza dictatorship (at the 14th Congress in Vancouver, 1978) but he also recognized the justice of the armed struggle in this country.<sup>19</sup> In this way he retreated from the "holy of holies" of social democratic principles--the "parliamentary path" to power. It is typical that later the SI recognized the legitimacy of this path for El Salvador as well.

After the victory of the Sandinistas in July 1979, international social democracy began to extend multi-faceted assistance to Nicaragua. While repeatedly opposing the aggressive policy of the USA, the social democrats emphasized that "constant efforts to 'drive Sandinism into a corner' led to its strengthening and radicalization without any benefit to the USA."<sup>20</sup> They appealed

to American politicians "not to push the Sandinistas onto a more radical path of action." As the revolution developed, fears were increasing within the social-democratic milieu that the country was in no way proceeding along the "third path," nor was it moving in the direction of "democratic socialism." A number of SI figures with right-wing tendencies began to criticize the Sandinistas for "mistakes," and they persistently pointed to the need to grant "greater freedoms" to bourgeois parties, etc. Attempts were made to utilize the granting of aid as a lever to pressure the SFNO (Sandinista Front of National Liberation).<sup>21</sup>

Against a background of a reformist course in domestic politics, the social democrats' foreign policy concepts and practice appear constructive. The SI's Latin American members actively supported the organization's turn away from a "cold war" policy to a policy of detente, which, in their opinion, contributes to the development of all the smaller nations, and to opportunities for them to conduct an independent foreign policy. In this area particularly active positions have been taken at various times by the ruling social democratic parties in such states as Venezuela, Costa Rica and Jamaica. Like the SI, the Latin American social democrats are experiencing an increased sense of alarm for the cause of peace on the planet, as well as acute concern over the distinct worsening of the international situation and the growing threat of thermonuclear war. While constantly confronting problems of poverty, hunger and child mortality in their own countries, the continent's socialists have frequently pointed to the unacceptability and immorality of the growing arms race, which devours enormous resources in the developing countries as well as in the developed countries.

At the same time the social democrats of both continents view the current worsening of the international situation as the "result of the rivalry between the two powers, which makes it possible to camouflage or pass over the differences" between the foreign policies of the USSR and the USA.<sup>22</sup>

However, the SI and its members in the region demonstrate much greater insight when they evaluate U.S. policy in Latin America. For example, during a visit to Cuba in October, 1984, the SI chairman, W. Brandt, stated that the USA was then conducting a harsher policy towards the Latin American states than it had 20 years ago.<sup>23</sup>

In a special resolution on Latin America and the Caribbean the 16th SI Congress condemned Washington's support of military-police regimes and emphasized that "Reagan's policy in the economic, military and political areas seriously intensifies an already difficult and dangerous situation" on the continent. In addition, the SI demanded in a special resolution on Nicaragua

that "the USA cease its obvious and secret participation...in actions" against this country.<sup>24</sup>

Nearly a year and a half later, in October 1984, in Rio de Janeiro the SU reaffirmed its positions on the entire complex of issues related to Latin American social development: this took place at a special bureau session in which more than 200 representatives of 60 social-democratic organizations took part. The bureau devoted particular attention to the explosive situation in Central America. The SI condemned U.S. interference in this region, demanded that it cease aggression against Nicaragua and came out in support of the "peace act," put forward by the countries of the Contadora Group."<sup>25</sup>

Thus it is obvious that social democracy's claims to play a role as a "third force," "which is capable of bringing hope to the 'third world' as well as to the industrial countries" is not supported by either experience or present practice.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, the SI ideologues are attempting to represent any stay in power by the socialists (including socialists in Latin America) as an experiment in the implementation of the ideals of "democratic socialism." As an example of such an experiment the social democrats point to the period of rule by the Popular Unity bloc in Chile. Leaving aside the question of whether the tragic outcome of this "experiment" was not the result of the immanent inconsistency of the social democrats and their fear of the revolutionary masses, it should be noted that Popular Unity's experience had great significance as an experience of cooperation between the socialists and communists. It is typical that from the beginning the alliance of Chile's Radical and Socialist Parties with the Communist Party was described in the European social democratic milieu as a "dangerous" example. However, serious efforts were undertaken subsequently to adapt this cooperation to these interests. After all, in Europe any experience of this kind is utilized to conceal the services of the communist parties in joint actions against the reaction and imperialist policy. At present the SI recognizes that under certain conditions it is possible to carry out joint actions with the communists. However, the social democrats proceed with alliances of this kind, as a rule, only if communists are assigned secondary roles.

Nonetheless, positive changes are taking place with regard to cooperation with communist parties. For example, in 1976 at a meeting in Caracas the social democratic parties were given permission to resolve the question of alliances with communists according to their own discretion. In subsequent years the attitude of social democrats on this question has become ever more flexible; their anticommunism is gradually moving from the sphere of current policy into the area of ideology. For example, C.A. Perez, the former president of Venezuela and one of the

leaders of the Democratic Action Party, noted that "under conditions of political pluralism the Marxist-Leninist parties have every right to function in our countries. Moreover, we think that their existence contributes to the creation of a balance in the political forces which is favorable to the democratic progress of our peoples."<sup>27</sup>

The talks held in October 1984 between W. Brandt and F. Castro, which the SI president described as very meaningful and important had great significance for cooperation between social democracy and the communists at the present stage.<sup>28</sup> These talks, as well as the SI's foreign policy acts and documents in recent years, show that international social democracy--under the influence of its Latin American wing--is capable of serious and responsible dialog with the communists on questions of strengthening peace and the anti-imperialist struggle in the region.

For their part the communist parties of Latin America approach questions of cooperation with social democracy in an entirely responsible and principled manner. At the 2d Congress of the Cuban Communist Party F. Castro noted in this regard: "Despite the existence of well-known ideological differences between revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists and social democrats, an analysis of present-day historical conditions and recent events shows that the activities of social democracy and its influence on the traditional bourgeois and oligarchical parties are positive in nature and contribute to expanding the arena of struggle and the growth of forces which oppose the domination of American imperialism in Latin America. At the same time the propaganda which social democracy is spreading contributes to the awakening of political and social consciousness of the masses in those places where the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas is completely forbidden."<sup>29</sup>

Communists think that the profound difference in ideological positions which exists between them and social democracy with regard to the continent's most important problems must not push into the background the fact that they hold views which are similar and sometimes identical on many questions of the struggle for national liberation, and against repressive dictatorships, as well as the aggressive course of the R. Reagan administration. In other words, there are fully adequate reasons and conditions for serious and practical cooperation between social democrats and communists, cooperation which the continent's popular masses are vitally interested in.

In a number of the continent's countries this kind of cooperation is gathering strength. Positive experience of joint action has been accumulated in Chile and Uruguay. In the Dominican Republic the communist party is conducting a policy aimed at an alliance with the leftist factions of social democracy. In Costa Rica the

communists have stated their willingness to cooperate with the National Liberation Party "in order to lead the country out of a crisis and to ensure its independent development," to isolate reactionary circles and to attract to the side of revolution those supporters of social democracy who want to play a role in it.<sup>30</sup> The communists of El Salvador are fighting within the framework of the Revolutionary Democratic Front along with the National Revolutionary Movement, which is a member of the Socialist International.

The continent's communist parties understand the significance of this cooperation but also join wholeheartedly in the appeal by the Soviet communists, which was directed toward the world's social democrats on the occasion of the 16th SI Congress, "to increase their contribution to the cause of saving mankind from nuclear catastrophe, to raise the level of action engaged in by the popular masses and their organizations in the struggle for peace and detente, and to increase the practical effectiveness of their statements on concrete questions of international security and an end to the arms race."<sup>31</sup>

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GUATEMALA INDIAN PEASANTS ROLE IN ANTI-GOVERNMENT STRUGGLE

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[Article by T.V. Petrova: "The Indian Peasantry in the Revolutionary Process of Guatemala"]

[Text] Today the workers, students and progressive intelligentsia, as well as the petty and middle bourgeoisie and the clergy, are taking an active part in the struggle against the military-dictatorial regime of Guatemala. The most radical form of the liberation movement--the guerrilla war--has become a mass phenomenon. The combat actions of the 22 guerrilla fronts encompass all the country's departments. And it is extremely important that the agricultural proletariat and the poorest strata of the Indian peasantry are playing an increasingly noticeable role in the guerrilla detachments.

The fate of the Guatemalan revolution depends largely on who the peasantry, which constitutes a majority of the population (60 percent), will follow. As a result, a broad propaganda and education campaign has been started in the countryside; it is aimed at attracting rural workers, 80 percent of whom are Indians, into the revolutionary ranks.

However, the Indians are aroused to the struggle primarily by the actual conditions of their existence. The domination of the latifundia and the penetration of the foreign monopolies into the sphere of agricultural production leads to the massive ruin of the small and medium-sized producers of agricultural products and to the further impoverishment of the poorest strata. The process by which the commune members--due to the will of the authorities and the growing tendencies of capitalist development--are driven away from areas which they have occupied since ancient times is proving to be a genuine tragedy in terms of communal poverty. Every year masses of the peasants are employed as seasonal workers on large plantations, which produce 71 percent of the country's entire output for export. A majority of the plantations are the property of foreign companies. The USA controls 88 percent of the foreign capital investment in Guatemala's agricul-

ture; today more than 20 major enterprises which belong to the multinational corporations and which specialize in the exportation of coffee, sugar, bananas, cotton, meat and cardamon are in operation here. In recent years the number of peasants who work seasonally has grown noticeably: during the 60's and 70's it increased from 200,000 to 600,000; this provides evidence of the increasing proletarianization of the Indian peasantry.<sup>1</sup>

When they work on the plantations, the Indian seasonal workers are subjected to merciless exploitation; they live in unbearable conditions deprived of elementary conveniences. Hence their frequent illnesses. Cases of seasonal workers being poisoned by toxic chemicals used for spraying plants are well known. Due to chronic malnutrition the Indians' average life expectancy is 35 years; 80 percent of the peasant families are on the edge of hunger; 10 out of every 100 children born in the Indian regions die in the first year of life; medical service in the rural areas is practically non-existent--one doctor for 25,000 people and one hospital bed for 170,000.

The social differentiation within the community provides the opportunity for its elite to utilize the labor of the rank and file members, turning the tradition of mutual assistance into a hidden form of exploitation. Contributing to the accelerated disintegration of communal relations are widespread usury, with monetary loans granted with allotments as collateral, as well as land speculation with the resale of allotments to rich peasants. The process of stratification leads, on the one hand, to the enrichment of the prosperous commune members, who become farmers, and on the other hand, to the final loss of land by the strata which have the least; they become farm laborers, the rural semi-proletariat.

In his work "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," V.I. Lenin noted that the process of "de-peasantization" "...means the fundamental ruin of the old patriarchal peasantry and the creation of new types in the rural population," and specifically the creation of the "rural proletariat."<sup>2</sup> The phenomena which exist within the Guatemalan Indian community provide evidence that precisely these processes are taking place within it.

G. Torriello, the progressive Guatemalan publicist, notes that "the problem of the peasantry is complicated by the fact that the enormous mass of Indian peasants is forced by reason of their poverty to turn themselves into a semiproletariat for several months of the year, hiring themselves out to the plantations for the cotton or sugar cane harvest, and ending up unemployed at the end of the season."<sup>3</sup>

The need to carry out radical agrarian reform developed a long time ago, but with the rule of the military-dictatorial regimes,

which express the interests of the local oligarchy and the foreign monopolies, there can be no discussion of the expropriation of their land holdings. An attempt to carry out profound transformations in this area was made by the government of Jacobo Arbens in 1944-1954. During the 1952 agrarian reform, about 100,000 landless peasant households were given more than 600,000 hectares of land to rent for life. During that period the land holdings of United Fruit were partly nationalized and distributed to the rural communes and cooperatives. The progressive Arbens government recognized the communal forms of land holding, and it also provided incentives for the cooperative movement: the National Land Bank granted the peasants 8 million quetzals in credit.<sup>4</sup> However, after the 1954 counterrevolutionary coup, which was inspired by the USA, the lands obtained by the peasants were returned to their previous owners.

The subsequent reactionary regimes offered various plans for "agrarian transformations." For example, a "colonization" program was put forward which stipulated the cultivation of selva in the Peten Department. Until recently this vast area was not sown because a large portion of it was taken up with tropical forests which have an unhealthy climate. In the last decade the discovery of oil deposits in the Peten area led the government to a decision to build a highway which is supposed to cut across northern Guatemala from east to west--this region was named the "Northern belt." The oil boom attracted foreign monopolies and latifundists from among the higher officers. The military-dictatorial regime granted them large land allotments which were occupied by the Indians. When the new latifundia were being created, the newly-minted land owners mercilessly drove the Indians out, dooming them to starvation. The process by which masses of the indigenous residents were squeezed off "nobody's" state lands was carried out by means of military force and cost the lives of more than 7,000 Indians who dared to stand up in defense of their rights.

A number of American monopolies, headed by Shenandoah Oil, showed interest in constructing an oil pipeline to the Atlantic coast. This prompted the U.S. Agency for International Development to grant \$5.6 million to finance the "colonization" plan.<sup>5</sup> The construction of the highway, the pipeline and two GES's by a group of foreign corporations required a great deal of additional manpower. As a result, the plan called for 60,000 peasant Indian families from the densely settled eastern regions of Guatemala to be resettled in this region. During the implementation of the plan it was discovered that there was not enough land for the people being resettled; the military regime had already distributed most of the territory allotted for the peasants. In the end only 4,000 Indians managed to obtain land allotments.

After the failure of the "colonization" program, the military dictatorship, which had demonstrated not only an inability but also a lack of desire to improve the situation of the country's indigenous population, gave up any attempt to change the nature of agrarian relations.

The escalation of the terror unleashed by the reactionary regimes of Guatemala objectively helps to turn the peasantry into an effective force in the revolutionary struggle. It is the rural population which is becoming the primary victim of terror. Under the government of Lucas Garcia, genocide was elevated to the rank of state policy. In the period from 1976 through 1982 the total number of victims among the peaceful residents exceeded 20,000; moreover, in 1981 alone, as a result of the "counterattack" undertaken by the regime against the guerrillas, the number of Indians who died at the hands of hired killers or went missing during the mass reprisals amounted to 13,000 people.<sup>6</sup> The next wave of repression aimed against the Indian peasantry flowed over Guatemala after General Rios Montt came to power in 1982. He stated officially that his regime would "destroy Indians on the grounds that they cooperate with the guerrillas and for this reason they are subversive elements."<sup>7</sup> The number of victims among the Indians from March through December 1982 reached 10,000.<sup>8</sup> During this period the cruelest and most barbaric were the attacks on the peaceful settlements of the northern, north-western and central portions of the Guatemalan highlands, where the mass of the Indian peasantry was concentrated.

The "program of pacification and the eradication of communism" was made the foundation of the present terrorist policy of the military dictatorship. While acknowledging the careful efforts of his predecessors with regard to "pacification," the new dictator, Mejia Victores, who gained power in August 1983 as a result of another military coup, subjected the tactics of his predecessors to re-examination. He introduced the so-called "civil patrols," and continued to create the "strategic villages," established during the rule of Rios Montt. The population from the Indian regions is driven into the "strategic villages"; moreover, the men are mobilized to oppose the guerrillas, and the women and children serve as a screen during attacks by guerrilla detachments. The civil patrols are formed by forced recruitment from among the Indian youth. They are called "civil" patrols because they do not wear military uniforms.

In the opinion of the ruling elite, conducting the struggle against the guerrillas and the peaceful population using these specialized detachments creates among the peasants the illusion that the government is not responsible for the repression. The dictatorial regime is counting on the officers who direct the civil patrols and the heads of the militarized terrorist bands, who act against the peaceful residents with particular harshness.

In addition, the regime carries out massive psychological propaganda among the rural population, while forcibly recruiting Indians into the militarized terrorist bands. Evaders are accused of helping the guerrillas, and public reprisals against them are staged. The military authorities also utilize the state of seige introduced in the country in order to carry out additional mobilization of men up to the age of 30, while they try to seize the initiative from the guerrillas in attracting to their side an active, combat-capable force.

Guatemala's ruling circles are seriously disturbed by the scale of the revolutionary movement. This unease forces them to increase expenditures for military purposes and to invent new tactical methods and means for the anti-guerrilla struggle. But at a time when the regime is forced to change its image, leaders and tactics, patriots are increasing their influence among various strata of the population; they are creating the preconditions for a decisive attack. Formerly the military dictatorship had to struggle against uncoordinated detachments of revolutionary-democratic forces, against various opposition parties and against individual centers of the guerrilla war, but now it is dealing with a united front of a revolutionary movement; the guerrilla detachments operating throughout the country form the basis of this movement.

Brought to despair by mass repressions, the Indian peasantry has moved from active support for the guerrilla movement to direct participation in it. The traditional political inertia of the rural population has been replaced by actions in defense of their rights. The radical position of the progressive circles in the Catholic Church, which opposes the repressive policy of the dictatorship, contributes to this in no small degree. As documents being disseminated by patriotic organizations make clear, the rural priests have played an important role in preparing the Indians to accept revolutionary ideas.<sup>9</sup>

The elemental protest of the basic mass of rural workers is acquiring increasingly organized forms. In an appeal to the peasants the Committee of Peasant Unity (CUC), which was created in April 1978, called on them to join with the workers in the struggle. Today the CUC is the firmest detachment of the Indian peasantry. Under its leadership mass strikes have been conducted, peaceful seizures of embassies have been carried out in order to attract world public opinion to the disastrous position of the Guatemalan Indians, protests have been made against the attempts to drive them into "strategic villages," and roads used by the punitive detachments have been picketed.

The CUC leaders consider that "the solidarity which the peasant movement is encountering from workers and other detachments of working people is a very important and deciding factor."<sup>10</sup> After

the shooting of the Kekchi peasants in Pansos in 1978, 50,000 people attended a protest demonstration in the capital. A protest demonstration in which more than 100,000 people took part, was held in memory of the Quiche peasants who perished on 31 January 1980 during the peaceful seizure of the Spanish embassy.<sup>11</sup> For their part, the peasantry more and more frequently demonstrates solidarity with the workers. For example, in 1980 more than 3,000 downtrodden Santa Lucia Indians supported a general strike by sugar cane and cotton pickers.

Organizationally the CUC is a component of the 31st of January Popular Front, which was established in 1980. This organization include other mass associations of working people such as the Revolutionary Workers Cells, the Coordinating Committee of Slum Residents, the Revolutionary Christians and the Revolutionary Student Front. By extending support to the peasants' protests against the military dictatorship, the 31st of January Popular Front convincingly demonstrates the growing unity of action among the various strata of Guatemalan society.

In May 1982 another independent organization of rural workers, the Committee of Altiplano Peasants (CCDA), was created as a result of the increasing number of repressive actions by the military regime; its purpose was to defend the interests of the poorest masses of the Indian peasantry in the Guatemalan highlands. The tasks of the CCDA are, among others, to expose the terrorist actions of the dictatorship, to extend assistance to the Indians in the organization of self-defense and assistance for those who have suffered from raids by the punitive expeditions, as well as to struggle to improve the peasants' living conditions.

In addition to these organizations, the Indian regions have self-defense detachments which carry out vitally important functions under the constant threat of raids by armed bands: they warn the residents of the approach of terrorists, they evacuate the population to previously prepared hiding places in the mountains in case of air bombing, and after the band has left, they help the Indians to rebuild the damaged homes, replant the fields which have suffered and restore normal life.

The existence of independent organizations of rural working people testifies that the peasants, who have lost any illusions they may have had regarding the military-dictatorship, have moved from elemental to conscious forms of struggle against the dictatorship. The Indian peasantry is increasingly conscious that its strength lies in organization and in joint actions with other detachments of the working people, who are acting as a united front for democratization and an end to social inequality and exploitation. For example, the Declaration of the Indians, which was adopted in 1980 by the peasant organizations which are part of

the CUC, noted in particular: "We are fighting for Indians to be able to develop their culture, which is being destroyed criminally by the exploiters; we are fighting for a new life, in which no one will be subjected to exploitation... We are fighting for an end to repression, torture and murder... for the same right to work as everyone else, for the just distribution and utilization of our resources..."<sup>12</sup>

The military-political organizations of Guatemala are conducting a steady propaganda campaign in the Indian settlements. The guerrilla associations, especially the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP) and the Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA), with the help of the underground committees of the CUC and the CCDA, hold rallies in the Indian villages; Indians who are fighting in the guerrilla detachments tell the peasants in their native language about the tasks and aims of the people's struggle. The guerrillas call these actions among the rural population "armed propaganda."

Taking into account the fact that many Indians speak only their native language, the general secretary of the Guatemalan Workers Party Central Committee, Carlos Gonsalez writes: "We translate the most important articles and materials from party publications into Indian dialects and we record them on cassette tapes; we then distribute them through our activists in various regions of the country. With a feeling of profound satisfaction we see that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are finding an ever broader response among the Indians; many of them, having joined the party, show initiative particularly in terms of organization, adapting national traditions to the needs of the armed struggle, helping to carry out the ideological and propaganda work more effectively and bringing new fighters into the anti-dictator movement."<sup>13</sup>

At the present time the Indians are extending multi-faceted support to the guerrillas, which means everything from providing food supplies and carrying out auxiliary operations in order to deflect the forces of the enemy during combat actions to direct participation in those actions. In setting the task of further attracting the Indian peasantry to the guerrilla struggle and evaluating its role in the revolutionary movement, Rolando Moran, the commander of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, stated: "They (the Indians) must be drawn into the movement fully, because for us, the Guatemalans, the revolution is impossible until the Indians become a part of it. Today one can already say that the Indians have become full and equal participants in the guerrilla war. And they participate in it not only as rank and file members, but also as leaders of whole detachments."<sup>14</sup>

For this reason it is no accident that full equality between the Indians and other groups of the population is declared to be one of the first points of the leftist forces' joint program: "Participation by the Indians in the exercise of political power will



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make it possible to resolve the problems facing us--problems of land, work, housing, and our living standard in general. The satisfaction of these needs is the first condition for the achievement of equality between the Spanish-speaking population and the Indians. Recognition and respect for the right of the Indian population to preserve their cultural traditions and originality will become the second condition of this equality."<sup>15</sup>

Thus despite the repression, racial discrimination and special measures which are being taken by the government to hinder the growth of class consciousness among the Guatemalan Indian peasants, they have found their place in the struggle against a repressive regime. They oppose the dictatorship with weapons in their hands; shoulder to shoulder with other detachments of the working people they are fighting for the democratization of society and social equality, contributing in this way to the achievement of a decisive advantage for the progressive forces.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. ESTUDIOS CENTROAMERICANOS. San Salvador, No 356-357, p 464.
2. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 3, pp 165-166.
3. G. Torriello, "Guatemala, mas de 20 anos de traicion," Caracas, 1980, p 113.
4. J.D. Rossotto, "Kharakter gvatemal'skoy revolyutsii" [The Nature of the Guatemalan Revolution], Moscow, 1962, p 241.
5. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 5 April 1978.
6. COMPANERO. REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DEL EGP. S. 1, No 5, 1982, p 7.
7. INFORMADOR GUERRILLERO, No 13, 1982, p 3.
8. GRANMA, La Habana, 17 January 1983.
9. BOLETIN DE PRENSA, Managua, No 23, 1981, p 25.
10. ESTUDIOS CVENTROAMERICANOS, San Salvador, No 356-357, 1978, p 476.
11. Ibid., pp 475, 478, 493.
12. "Declaracion de Ixinche," Mexico, 14 February 1980.
13. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 2, 1984, No 2, pp 45-46.

14. BOHEMIA, La Habana, No 16, 1981, pp 77-78.

15. EL DIA, Mexico, 22 February 1982.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

BRAZILIAN JOURNALIST NOTES TRADE UNION MOVEMENT GAINS, GOAL

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 102-104

[Interview with Roberto Ribeiro, chairman of the Journalists' Trade Union of the State of Sao Paulo (Brazil), interviewer, date and place not specified: "New Frontiers Won by the Proletariat in Class Battles"]

[Text] [Question] What are the features of the stage currently reached by the Brazilian Trade Union Movement?

[Answer] The working class favors unity in the trade union movement, and the unitary tendency within the movement can be seen with increasing clarity. But at the same time a struggle for leadership is taking place. There is evidence of this in the very existence of the two major rival trade associations, the Single Workers Federation (CUT) and the National Congress of the Working Classes (CONCLAT).

The period which we are living through now is very important. The situation which has developed makes it possible to ask about the break up of the old trade union structures inherited from the military regime. According to existing legislation, the government has the right to intervene directly in trade union matters. The labor ministry can at any moment and for any reason, whether it be a decision to strike or a conflict between workers and owners, exert pressure on the trade union. It is for precisely this reason that the CUT sets itself the task of having this law repealed because it gives the government the right to interfere in the internal affairs of trade unions; in other words, it is fighting for autonomy and for independence from the state, and from the bourgeoisie and its political parties.

The CUT was established in August 1983. Its main goal is to organize the working people to struggle for a just society and for socialism. I would like to emphasize that the CUT represents the most militant sentiments in the workers movement.

CONCLAT also includes some trade union organizations which are distinguished by a fighting spirit; however, the leaders who make up the trade union association are "pelegos" (in Brazil the word "pelego" means "lackey"). They were connected with the authoritarian regime which dominated the country for two decades.

[Question] A few words, please, about the structure of the CUT.

[Answer] The structure of the CUT is this: national leadership, state leadership and regional leadership. The regional unit is the first level and, in my opinion, the most important one as it works closely with the grassroots organizations.

[Question] What are the main trends in trade union work and which political party has the greatest influence in the trade union movement?

[Answer] In order to understand the current state and the problems of the trade union and workers movement, it is necessary to remember that the working people have struggled for their rights for a long time but that many of the proletariat's gains from the time of the bourgeois-democratic regime were eliminated following the 1964 coup. During the period of relative or bourgeois democracy (from 1946 through 1964), there were also instances of repression, but despite this, we managed to achieve some success. Let us recall, for example, that the United Leadership of the Workers (CJT) was created in Brazil in the early 60's. The establishment of this trade union federation represented an important step on the path to the achievement of trade union unity.

After 1964 qualitative changes took place in the Brazilian workers movement: there were mass repressions, many trade union activists were arrested or disappeared. A majority of the trade union organizations were disbanded. In its attempt to establish control over the workers movement the military regime began to actively introduce into the movement people who were faithful to the regime, in other words, corrupt bureaucrats. One of them, Joachim dos Santos Andrada, has headed Latin America's largest trade union of metallurgical workers in the state of Sao Paulo for 16 years. He is a typical "pelego" with a rather dark past.

The first strike following the coup was held only in 1968. The revival of the independent trade union movement began at a very difficult time, when the authorities could at any moment appoint an official "intervener" and the leadership of the trade unions consisted almost entirely of corrupt men. Nonetheless, the movement gathered strength. An important role in this was played by the vanguard detachment of the proletariat in the state of Sao Paulo--the metallurgical workers of San Bernardo do Campo. The working people conducted a struggle for the repeal of legislation preventing strikes, for a 40-hour work week, for fair payment for

overtime work and wage increases which take account of the rising cost of living.

It is interesting to compare the activities of the CJT, which existed before 1964, under conditions of bourgeois democracy, and the CUT. The CJT was constructed on a vertical principle, and the leadership itself took corporative positions; there were no close ties with the grassroots organizations. The CUT adheres to a different line--we are trying to move the center of gravity in our trade union work onto the grassroots organizations, to the factories, plants and their shops.

The struggle is difficult and bitter. However, we are not losing our optimism. With every passing year we are achieving successes, however small. For example, several years ago, a minimum wage for the peasants existed only on paper. Today it is a reality.

The regional leadership of the CUT is very concerned about the situation of women workers. Achieving greater benefits for them is one of the top-priority aims of our trade union work.

As for the question of which political party has the greatest influence in the trade union movement, the answer is unequivocal--the PT, the Workers Party. There are other currents within the framework of the leftist forces which enjoy authority among the workers, but the PT occupies leading positions in the trade unions.

This party has not yet finished developing its ideological platform: one can say that it is in the process of formation and self-confirmation; it is experiencing a period of discussion, re-examination and clarification of certain points of its program.

[Question] What are the future prospects for the development of the trade union movement?

[Answer] I think that Brazil has the conditions for the emergence of new leaders for the workers and trade union movement.

As for the CUT, we must sharply improve the level its organizational work. We still have much to do in this regard. It is necessary to publicize our trade union federation, to explain the goals which it sets for itself.

The urgency of the need to raise the level of unionization among the working class is clear from the following example: in the state of Sao Paulo the metallurgical industry has 380,000 workers, of whom 76,000, or approximately one-fifth, are trade union members. In the latest trade union elections 47,000 people took

part, and this was with nearly 400,000 people employed in the industry!

There are a number of reasons for all this. In the first place, the CUT still does not have an adequate base in the grassroots organizations. In the second place, there are frequent cases of workers who join a trade union not because they are conscious of the need to conduct--in conjunction with their class comrades--an organized struggle for their rights but because they know that membership in a trade union, for example, makes it easier to receive access to medical care, etc. And there is another factor: even now the activities of the trade unions are regulated by legislation from the epoch of the "New State" of Getulio Vargas.

Thus, for us the future holds work to create a unified trade union federation, which includes the maximum possible number of workers; moreover, this must be a real not just a formal organization. Naturally this is a long-term not a short-term prospect. The difficulties lie in the fact that a majority of the trade unions, as already noted, are under government control, and their leaders, the "pelegos," defend the owners' interests, instead of the workers' interests. However, the core of an independent trade union movement has already developed.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### SECOND ARGENTINE-SOVIET SYMPOSIUM HELD IN BUENOS AIRES

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[Article by Mauricio Lebedinskiy: "The Second Argentine-Soviet Symposium"]

[Excerpts] The second joint symposium of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Latin America and the Victorio Codovilla Research Institute was held in Buenos Aires. In the course of the four days (from 30 October through 2 November 1984) the participants heard and discussed reports and presentations by Soviet and Argentine scholars on the subject of "The Present-Day Crisis of Capitalism and its Influence on Latin America and Argentina."

The following people participated on the Soviet side: V.V. Vol'skiy, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Latin America (ILA); N.P. Yakovlev, candidate of historical sciences and academic secretary of the institute; Professor B.M. Merin, doctor of historical sciences and acting head of the department of socio-political problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences ILA; P.N. Boyko, candidate of economic sciences and head of the sector on the La Plata countries and Brazil.

On the Argentine side the following people took part in the work of the symposium: Felix Marcos, Marcelo Isakovich, Jaime Fuchs, Augustin Serrano, Elsa Balerini, Eduardo Duchaski, Mauricio Lebedinskiy.

Professor L.L. Klochkovskiy, doctor of economic sciences, and Julio Laborde sent their reports.

The sessions were opened by Paulino Gonsalez Alberdi. V.V. Vol'skiy and Mauricio Lebedinskiy summarized the symposium on the last day.

What is the basic reason for the economic crisis in the capitalist world? This question was posed by V.V. Vol'skiy, doctor

of economic sciences, in his presentation. In his answer, the speaker singled out the following aspects:

- 1) the rapid growth of multinational corporations, as well as multinational banks, which add a destabilizing factor, which disturb the regulatory activity of state monopoly capitalism and which lead to general chaos.
- 2) the increasing internationalization of the economy.
- 3) the synchronic nature and "breadth" of the crisis, which extends to the entire capitalist world.

The Soviet scholar emphasized that in an epoch of intensive development of production forces and technology, only a planned socialist economy, which responds to the interests of the people, can provide for steady advancement.

In his presentation V.V. Vol'skiy touched on certain historical aspects; he noted that the present situation differs substantially from the situations which existed during the crisis of the 30's or the two world wars, when the process of industrialization was unleashed in Latin America and the economy developed at a more or less rapid rate. At present de-industrialization is being observed, the Latin American countries are experiencing difficulties in joining the worldwide division of labor and the price which must be paid to society for this is very high.

When he described the basic features of the present epoch, V.V. Vol'skiy directed the particular attention of those present to the fact that the previous crises had led to the unleashing of world wars, and he pointed out that today this is hampered by the might of the socialist camp and the progressive forces of all humanity.

The speaker noted that despite the severe consequences which the crisis has for the leading capitalist powers, there is no doubt that they have opportunities to ease their situation at the expense of weaker units. In Latin America, for example, the manifestations of the crisis are more profound, more prolonged and negative in nature. According to the claims of a number of eminent scholars, the region has lost 15 years of its development. In an era of rapid modernization of equipment the relative backwardness is progressing.

The speaker went on to say that the popular masses of Latin America, and especially the working class, are subjected to triple exploitation: by foreign monopolies, by the land owning oligarchy and by the local bourgeoisie. But today a significant percentage of the latter are not in a position to withstand the crisis, and they are losing their positions. All this leads to



opportunities for the establishment of broader ties and alliances in the struggle for national and social liberation.

The imperialist circles are attempting to somehow smooth over the crisis. The various conferences which have been held recently provide evidence of this. However, it is difficult to maneuver under conditions of an impending explosion. For it is under precisely such conditions that they are looking for a "new order." At the same time they are increasing the exploitation of the working class in their own and the in the liberated countries, and they are nurturing plans to eliminate the socialist system.

Among the new tendencies in the operations of the multinational corporations V.V. Vol'skiy singled out the control of scientific-technical progress and the production of foodstuffs.

In his report Professor L.L. Klochkovskiy, doctor of economic sciences, examined the problem of the Latin American countries' foreign indebtedness, including the reasons for the worsening financial crisis as well as its "prospects."

In thesis form the main propositions of his presentation, which revealed the formational mechanism of the crisis phenomena, can be reduced to the following:

- 1) the internationalization of the economy is taking place;
- 2) "import-replacing" industrialization requires an increase in imports not only of equipment and sometimes raw materials, but also of technology, scientific expertise, etc. and this, in turn, leads to greater distortions in the balance of payments and the growth of indebtedness;
- 3) the vital significance of exports (as they say, "export or die") dictates the acceptance of ever newer measures to expand them;
- 4) an intensive outflow of capital is taking place in the form of payments for petroleum;
- 5) in order to cover the budget deficit caused specifically by enormous military expenditures the USA makes a practice of collecting high rates of interest. This factor also causes the outflow of capital from the continent's countries.

These statements were supported by examples from Mexican life. V.V. Vol'skiy emphasized that the bourgeoisie, including the national bourgeoisie, proceeds from the premise that any structural reorganization may lead to unforeseeable consequences; it fears new ways. After pointing out the need to discover the

reasons for the situation in order to find the corresponding means "to cure" it, he devoted particular attention to the problem of unity among the Latin American countries in the struggle against imperialism, and, in particular, to opportunities to create a united front of debtors.

#### Some international problems

The present crisis in the capitalist system is accompanied by an increase in the threat of nuclear war. As it has lost positions in the world, including those in Latin America, the USA has started to re-arm the West. That is why in his presentation P.P. Yakovlev, candidate of historical sciences, treated the central theme of the symposium through the prism of the struggle for peace and disarmament.

P.P. Yakovlev discussed Soviet disarmament proposals, which are supported by the entire socialist camp, in detail. The indis- tractible solidarity of the peoples in all countries, he empha- sized in conclusion, must thwart the monstrous plans of the "star wars" theoreticians.

#### Worsening social problems

In the report which he made at the symposium, Professor B.M. Mer- in, doctor of historical sciences, used a great deal of factual material in his examination of the socio-economic position of the working class in this region and such phenomena as "supra-exploi- tation" and unemployment, which have grown worse as a result of the crisis.

P.N. Boyko, candidate of economic sciences, concentrated most of his attention on discovering the links between the struggle against imperialism and the social struggle of the working peo- ple, and especially the great battle of the proletariat. He demonstrated through an analysis of concrete situations how the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the middle strata, the intelligentsia and a segment of the national bourgeoisie were mo- bilized in this struggle. Brazil was used as an example to show how even large enterprises are experiencing fear of the multi- national corporations; they are afraid of a further worsening of the crisis.

In several presentations the speakers expressed the opinion that sometimes those countries in which the economic backwardness and the force of imperialism reveal with all clarity the main op- ponent, the revolutionary process proceeds along a less complex path, while it takes more complex forms in places where the level of capitalist development is high and economic backwardness and dependence on imperialism are not so obvious. After noting the existence of two stages in the revolutionary process of Latin

America--1) the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist stage and 2) the socialist revolution--the speakers (Paulino Gonzalez Alberdi, for example) noted at the same time that these two levels of the revolutionary struggle were not divided by a "stone wall."

### Prospects

Eduardo Duchaski noted the tendency toward increasing homogeneity in the ruling bloc which is trying to seize the political leadership of society (the latter is manifested in the increasing activity of A. Alsogarain's party, desarmolism, the right-wing Peronists and radicals who are closely linked to conservative circles, and in the orientation of the rightists from the General Confederation of Labor toward the Agricultural Society and the Industrial Alliance), and he pointed out that the polarization of political forces makes one foresee their inevitable concentration on two opposing fronts--the left and the right.

Naturally, problems which are already on the agenda--the immediate tasks--were discussed, but basic aims were not allowed to drop from sight. It was emphasized that one cannot be satisfied with actions in the narrow framework which has been posed by the Alfonsin government. It is essential to put forward platform demands, particularly those which, if they do not lead to profound transformations, are in any case viewed by the rightists as a thorn in the side, for example, the abolition of the principle of private distribution of shares, the introduction of a tax on nonproductive land, price controls, etc. The implementation of similar measures opens up the road for more profound changes.

### Relations with the USSR and the socialist world.

The reports by P.N. Boyko and Elsa Balerini, which were devoted to trade and the entire complex of relations between Argentina and the USSR, had a great deal to offer.

The speakers pointed to the need to create a mature trade mechanism; they expressed support for such plans as the "Parana Medio," and for agreements on fishing and the sale of industrial goods.

Relations with the socialist world are being diversified; recently it has been possible to observe not only trade growth; but also expanded cooperation in the scientific-technical area. However, everything that Argentina receives from mutually profitable trade with the USSR goes to compensate for the negative balance with the USA. For this reason the speakers posed the question of the need for appropriate publicity to inform the Argentine public. Toward this end the permanent exhibition of the achievements of the Soviet Union, which will be opened in Argentina, will be of great benefit.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICAN ANTICOMMUNISM, IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 134-138

[Article by A.V. Grishin: "Anticommunism and the Ideological Struggle in Latin America: A Scientific-Practical Conference, Moscow, 26-27 November 1984"]

[Text] During the current struggle of ideas, anticommunism, which consists of a complex conglomerate of bourgeois, reformist and revisionist doctrines and concepts, has experienced a state of crisis more than once. As a result attempts have frequently been made to modernize its ideological potential and to adapt the achievements of various areas of the humanities to the needs of imperialist policy. Substantial intellectual resources have been recruited for this purpose, and present-day anticommunism frequently acquires a pseudo-scientific, "theoretical" form, which is designed to mask the strategic goals of imperialism. That is why the conference which was held at the Institute of Latin America (ILA) of the USSR Academy of Sciences was a scientific-practical one. The participants came not only from scientific-research institutes and higher educational institutions (Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences, the Institute of Social Sciences, Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov, University of the Friendship of the Peoples imeni Patrice Lumumba, the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin, the Yaroslavl State Pedagogical Institute imeni K.D. Ushinskiy and the Omsk State Institute of Physical Culture), but also from practical organizations (AUCCTU, the All-Union House of Political Education and the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries).

V.V. Vol'skiy, director of ILA and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, opened the conference. After describing the features of present-day Latin American development, he noted that the worsening of the ideological struggle in the region is the consequence of the policy failures of American imperialism. The priority given to ideological diversion testifies to the ineffectiveness of methods involving force, and

especially the policy of blockades and undeclared wars, which has discredited itself in the eyes of the entire world community. The example of Cuba has shown convincingly that imperialism is not capable of suppressing a people united by revolution and aroused to defend it. Today the experience of Nicaragua, which has started to move toward a socialist orientation, also confirms this.

"Our goal is not only to discuss what is taking place on the fronts of the ideological struggle but also as far as possible to make a real contribution to it," said V.V. Vol'skiy in outlining the work of the conference.

The main report was made by Professor A.F. Shul'govskiy, doctor of historical sciences, who noted that the main directions in the new anticommunist attack, which has been unleashed in recent years, were formulated in the so-called Santa Fe document not long before the Reagan republican administration came to power, and he went on to describe the most important system-forming ideas of anticommunist ideology. In particular, he emphasized that most of these ideas were oriented toward the ordinary, mass consciousness and were intended for the anticommunist prejudices and stereotypes of the political thought of the petty bourgeoisie, the middle strata, and some of the working people. In the scholar's opinion, the growing influence of neoconservatism is a typical phenomenon in the ranks of the ruling classes of certain Latin American countries. The anticommunists from the conservatives' camp are attempting to impose their understanding of history, to prove that the development of the Western hemisphere, the hemisphere of "freedom," and "democracy" in its Anglo-Saxon form with elements of Ibero-Hispanism, goes beyond the framework of the processes which are universal for the Eastern hemisphere and that the region does not have traditions of socialist thought. At the level of concrete historical research these theses of the neoconservative ideologues have received their expression in the idea of the so-called Satanization of history, which "explains" the upswing in the national-liberation and revolutionary struggle in terms of the intrigues of international communism.

At the conclusion of his presentation A.F. Shul'govskiy called for the following: creative utilization of the entire wealth of Marxist theory, more attention to be devoted to the discovery of historical ties and typological similarity between social protest movements in Europe and Latin America, deeper study of the problems of democracy and the state, and consideration to be given--when criticizing attempts "to improve" or "to supplement" Marxism--to the imperatives which prompt them.

Professor M.I. Lazarev, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences ILA and doctor of juridical sciences, examined the

phenomenon of anticommunism from the viewpoint of international law and particularly the foreign policy actions of the imperialist states, primarily the USA, which are incompatible with legal norms. The central idea of his report, which was illustrated by a great deal of factual material, was that the "USA and the reactionary regimes of the region cover their economic, political, diplomatic, legal, military and other actions, which are aggressive, militaristic and interventionist in nature, with the flag of anticommunism."

Latin American Catholicism remains an influential socio-political and ideological force. Imperialism does not discount the religious factor; on the contrary, it is counting on the church, which has broad ties with the popular masses. For this reason the subject matter examined in the report by V.P. Andronova, candidate of historical sciences, does not have merely local or even regional significance. An analysis of the positions taken by the Nicaraguan clergy in relation to the revolutionary-democratic process has made it possible not only to develop a more specific idea of today's Latin American church, but also to discover the mechanism by which U.S. imperialism utilizes the religious consciousness of believers, as well as to determine more clearly the true nature of the Vatican's renewed mission.

Several reports were devoted to an examination of a number of ideological currents in which nationalism plays a noticeable role. And it was these reports which proved to be the focus of debate: on the one hand, under conditions of dependence, nationalism contains within itself anti-imperialist and patriotic potential, and on the other, it contains the potential for anti-communism. The alignment of positive and negative within nationalism is variable; it is determined by the social carrier of the official ideology, and by domestic- and foreign-policy factors. In addition, the contradictory nature of the phenomenon is increased by differences in approach, by a general or a "situational" approach, in which concrete goals of the political struggle serve as criteria, and the struggle can, for example, dictate tactics of unified action by various forces.

While directing attention to this side of the question, Ya.G. Shemyakin, candidate of historical sciences, outlined the basic tendencies in Argentine nationalism, which are related to the attitude of the various strata of the bourgeoisie, and he characterized the corresponding types of anticommunism.

T.V. Goncharova, candidate of historical sciences, examined the historical--philosophical arguments of the ideologues of "original development." In contrast with the traditional legal-bourgeois concepts, she noted, a militant criticism of Marxism-Leninism and the real experience of socialist construction is not typical of the concepts of "original development." However,

their essence consists in a revision of Marxist teaching about social formations, in a denial of the laws of historical development, and, consequently, a denial of the universal nature of the revolutionary-liberation processes. T.V. Goncharova emphasized that in the opinion of Soviet researchers, historical-philosophical constructions with this kind of object have become predominant in the present-day "scientific" argumentation of anticommunism in the developing countries. She made her idea more concrete by adding that in bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalist ideology one can single out several versions of this kind of revision, versions which differ in terms of social-class and political content, but which objectively come together in the anti-scientific thesis about the "pluralistic nature of history," and about the multitude of fundamentally incompatible civilizations and which consequently have different prospects for future development... The ideologues of this trend in Argentina, Bolivia, Mexico and Peru take the position that the "European way of development" is not acceptable to them. The unacceptability of "European communism" for the Latin American peoples is proven by the existence of a world view which is supposed to be completely unique, and by an understanding of time and space and man's relation with nature which is supposed to be different from the European understanding of these and other concepts. For some of the theoreticians of "unique development" socialism is only one variety of "industrial society."

The adherents of the doctrines examined by T.V. Goncharova see the basic conflict of our epoch in the antagonism between nature and man, between man and technology, between various types of cultures and in the conflict between the "world city" and the "world countryside." Hence they see the genuine revolution of the present day not as struggle for the creation of a society without exploitation of man by man but as process of moral and psychological recovery for mankind, as a rejection of the "machines of growth," and not infrequently as a return to archaic institutions and a restoration of the "way of life of our ancestors." If the question of revolution is even posed, it is seen as an uprising of the "world countryside" against the "world city," or as a struggle of "the third world" against the imperialist domination of the "superpowers."

The ideologues of "original development," T.V. Goncharova noted in conclusion, come to conservative conclusions, "by creating a picture which is mainly subjectively idealistic in its portrayal of the worldwide historical process, and by separating from that process the national features of present-day development."

Many of the conference participants, and in particular V.M. Davydov, candidate of economic sciences, noted the complexity and at the same time the importance of developing an attitude toward the various models of left-reformist nationalist ideology. He

emphasized the significance of a carefully reasoned criticism of those who support the absolutization of the uniquely national element in the development of society, and he asked whether it is advisable to discover points at which the "positions of the left wing of the national-reformist and social-reformist currents overlap in the criticism of imperialist expansion, unequal international economic relations in the world capitalist economy and the 'exportation of crisis' from the centers of imperialism."

A.V. Shestopal, doctor of philosophical sciences (Academy of Social Sciences), provided a critical analysis of the ideology of the "new center," which is the so-called theory of "national democracy." He emphasized that an important feature of this concept is its lack of internal unity and the significant "incoherence" in the positions of its adherents. On the first flank A.V. Shestopal singled out a group of adherents of the North American doctrine of "human rights," who are characterized by militant anticommunism, and a lack of attachment to any forms of socialist orientation (they support their arguments specifically by references to the failures of left reformist regimes and movements, which have acted in recent years under the slogans of "national socialism"). However, the majority of them are apologists for the so-called "humane socialism," which is closely related to the platform statements of European social democracy. The left flank of the "new center" is represented by a group of theoreticians who defend the idea of "real democracy" and state the need to secure real economic and social freedoms. Some of them speak out extremely sharply against the doctrine of "human rights."

The so-called theory of national scientific potential, which also comes in many forms, is being worked out within the framework of the "new center" ideology. Both the pro-imperialist as well as nationalistic modifications of it are utilized by anticommunist ideologues, who declare Marxism-Leninism to be an ideology of a "factory" or "pre-scientific" society. At the same time the plans for the achievement of "national scientific potential" include more sober constructions, which take into account the role which the social factor plays in ensuring scientific-technical progress, and which link its effectiveness in resolving the problems which face the continent to a profound re-organization of social and political structures. The researcher emphasized that "progressive theoreticians of national scientific potential are overcoming anticommunist prejudices; they have a growing interest in the experience of scientific-technical transformations in the USSR and other socialist countries.

A number of other presentations were also of interest. Many speakers (including Professor N.M. Lavrov, doctor of historical sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History) pointed out the need to strengthen the link between science and



practice, noting that a "caveman" version of anticommunism frequently gives way to a "civilized" version and, consequently, propaganda must be based on a firm foundation of academic knowledge. E.E. Litavrina, candidate of economic sciences (Moscow State University), called on scholars to be more specific when addressing the opposition. Professor B.M. Merin, doctor of historical sciences, emphasized the importance of effectiveness in propaganda work and of the ability to see that there is a profound tendency toward socialism among the broad strata of society.

A.F. Shul'govskiy summed up the work of the conference. After noting that the Latin American countries occupy an important place in the present-day world, that they possess significant spiritual potential and developed ideological relations and do not want to be merely "pawns" in the game of imperialism, he emphasized that at a time when a search for a new quality of life is taking place and new, sometimes mediated points of contact between communists and broad democratic movements are emerging, it is essential to take a flexible approach to the problem of social ideals. When judging the dialogue which communists have with the masses, as well as with popular movements such as those similar to the "green" parties in Europe, for example, and when considering the positions of autochthony and "national socialism," it is necessary to proceed from the fact of struggle between two civilizations, and if the essence of socialism is revealed in the word "advanced," then everything advanced must be its ally.

The conference attracted the attention of Soviet and foreign public opinion. Reports of its work were published in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and MOSCOVSKIY KOMSOMOL'ETS. GRANMA also carried a detailed report on the paper by L.S. Poskoninaya, candidate of historical sciences, entitled "Socialist Cuba and the Struggle Against Ideological Diversions by Imperialism and Anticommunism." The conference, which was held at the ILA, is acquiring ever greater practical significance. Its conclusions, which were commented on by the academic and the party press, are becoming the available to an ever broader audience, thus stimulating further collective analysis of the urgent problems of the present day.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### ROLE OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES IN UN DISCUSSED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 139-143

[Article by S.V. Tagor: "Latin America at the UN"]

[Excerpts] The Latin American countries participated directly in the establishment of the United Nations. Twenty Latin American republics were among the founding members of the UN and participated in the work of the San Francisco conference 40 years ago, at which the Charter was adopted and the structure of this international body was approved. At the present time 33 Latin American countries are members of the UN. Two of the six places for non-permanent members of the Security Council belong to representatives of the region.

Since the early 70's regular consultations have been held at the UN by representatives of countries from this regions, which are united in the "Latin American Group" (GRULA); their decisions take the form of recommendations.

A whole complex of contradictory factors exerts an influence on the position of the Latin American countries at the UN: on the one hand, there is anti-imperialist trend and on the other, there is a tendency toward agreement and cooperation with the imperialist powers. As a result this position has proved to be inconsistent over the last 10-15 years.

A prominent role in the work of the UN is played by Cuba, which joins with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on the most important international questions. Cuban diplomacy conducts a policy aimed at developing cooperation with other Latin American states, at defending the common interests of the continent's states, at strengthening peace and international security, at asserting equal rights in relation to the USA, at isolating dictatorial regimes, at eliminating the remnants of colonialism on the continent and at establishing the NMEP (New International Economic Order).

In the 70's a number of the region's countries moved away from "bloc diplomacy." As a result American investigators note that the time has passed when "the USA could count on automatic support for its policies by its southern neighbors."<sup>2</sup> During this period a majority of the region's states have more and more frequently taken a constructive position aimed at searching for positive solutions to international problems.

Since Reagan arrived in the White House American diplomacy has begun to put more effort into undermining the independence of actions taken by the Latin American countries at the UN. Toward this end U.S. representatives are using the old method of frightening people with the "Soviet and Cuban threat." At the same time they are applying a new tactic with regard to the developing countries in general and the Latin American countries in particular. The Ford government carried out a policy of "hard confrontation" with the developing countries, while the administration of President Carter shifted to a "policy of compromise" and "constructive dialog," but at the present time American diplomacy is trying to combine both approaches. However, the aim of U.S. policy remains the same; it is "to break up the massive bloc of states, mainly new ones, which over the course of a long period of time have been opposing us at international forums... The nonaligned countries, the "Group of 77" and all the others are mainly groups of fundamentally different states with absolutely different interests. Their present bloc unity is artificial and subject to destruction."<sup>3</sup> While supporting "constructive dialog" with words, the USA essentially agrees to carry it out only with those countries which support its foreign policy and take the same position at the UN. A "hard line" is taken with regard to "disobedient" delegations.

J. Kirkpatrick, the permanent U.S. representative at the UN has frequently criticized the developing states. She has stated that with regard to decisions on international questions the UN supposedly assigns an "excessive role" to the countries which take an anti-imperialist position and that it is time to put an end to this situation. In her opinion, acceptance of this situation in the international organization serves only to increasingly isolate the West in general and the USA in particular from the majority of the developing countries.

However, it is becoming increasingly difficult for Washington to achieve its goals. Despite all its attempts to "sink" the discussion of Latin American problems by using the theory of "regional autonomy," it was forced to agree to a discussion of the "Situation in the Area of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms in El Salvador" at the 36th session of the General Assembly. And although a majority of the GRULA members--under pressure from the White House--did not support a proposal to put the "El Salvador" question forward for discussion by the General Assembly, its

Committee on Social Questions recommended on 3 December 1981 that the General Assembly adopt a resolution proposed by Mexico and Nicaragua on this question. Voting on this resolution showed that a majority of the Latin American countries nonetheless followed Washington's lead. Out of 21 countries, which voted against the resolution (which was adopted by 68 votes), 15 were Latin American, and four others abstained.

In 1981 a Latin American, the Peruvian diplomat Javier Perez de Cuellar, was selected as UN general secretary. His selection was greeted with enthusiasm in Latin America. For example, Ecuador's permanent representative at the UN, Migel Albornos, stated on this occasion: "I, as a Latin American, consider today's election to be an historical victory of the 'third world.'" <sup>4</sup> Uruguay's permanent representative at the UN, Jorge Asar Gomez, emphasized that "Perez de Cuellar's occupation of the highest UN post may be the beginning of a new stage in UN history." <sup>5</sup>

In the 40 years that the UN has been in existence, the Latin American countries have made a substantial contribution to the work of this international organization. Take, for example, the most important question of our time--nuclear disarmament: in the UN and its organs the Latin American representatives have always acted as a single region, frequently showing initiative on this question within the framework of the world association. They systematically cooperate with the developing and the socialist countries in working out treaties and conventions which to one degree or another are aimed at preventing nuclear catastrophe. In the First UN Committee the Latin American representatives supported the socialist states during consideration of a draft of a Declaration on Strengthening International Security and the Non-Application of Force in International Relations, which contained such important points as a statement on the unacceptability of acquiring territory by force or by threat of force, on the need to carry out Security Council resolutions and to render assistance to oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialism, and on the establishment of a collective security system. <sup>7</sup> During a discussion in the First Committee of a draft resolution on this declaration, A. Castro, Brazil's representative said: "The subject of our discussions is fundamental...And if we do not achieve any progress in this area, then further advancement in other areas may lose all meaning and prove fruitless. We cannot imagine a more vitally important and serious question at the present time, when our organization is marking its 25th anniversary." <sup>8</sup>

The reason for the increased interest in disarmament issues shown by Latin American diplomats at the UN is the understanding that the arms race has a negative effect on the socio-economic development of the states in this region. The representatives of these countries have been the co-authors of several resolutions

concerning economic and social consequences of the arms race. Speaking in the First Committee, the Colombian representative stated that arms expenditures are "an unacceptable luxury for the developing countries, whose efforts must be concentrated primarily on the resolution of essential socio-economic problems."<sup>10</sup>

The countries of this region have been the most active in the discussion about banning nuclear weapons and their proliferation. As they do not possess nuclear weapons, the Latin American states supported the idea of creating nuclear-free zones, having signed a regional "Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America" (the Tlateloco treaty) in February 1967. Some Latin American states are developing nuclear power at a rapid rate, while Argentina and Brazil already have atomic power plants. The economic and scientific potential of these countries will make it possible for them to produce nuclear weapons in the near future. For this reason strict fulfillment of all clauses of the Tlateloco Treaty by the Latin American countries has great significance for strengthening the status of the nuclear-free zone in Latin America.

In the First Committee the Latin American delegations take an active part in the drafting of resolutions banning the development and production of new mass destruction weapons and new systems for the delivery of these weapons. At the 37th session of the General Assembly they supported the USSR's appeal to all the nuclear powers to take upon themselves the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. In the course of this session's work the Latin American governments participated in the compilation and approval of such documents as the Declaration Condemning Nuclear War and the Resolution on a Nuclear Weapons Freeze.

At the present time a particularly urgent task involves the development of all-encompassing agreements to prohibit the use of space for military purposes and to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space. Latin American representatives have been the co-authors of a number of resolutions containing an appeal for international cooperation in the peaceful use of outer space. Preventing the militarization of space is becoming particularly important as a result of plans for "space wars" which are being put forward by the Reagan administration. The Latin American countries voted to support a resolution on the prevention of the arms race in outer space, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the 38th General Assembly session. A similar resolution was adopted at the 39th session.

Another important area of UN work is the examination of issues related to the development of international economic relations. The Latin American states are vitally interested in the improvement of international trade and the establishment of a new inter-

national currency system, in the search for more effective forms of international economic and scientific-technical cooperation, in the consolidation of economic independence and in the work to ensure that nations have true sovereignty over their own natural resources, etc. All these questions are part of the complex problem of the re-organization of international economic relations, a problem which the developing countries are struggling to resolve.

An important aspect of the work being carried out by the Latin American delegations in the Second Committee is the establishment of control over the activities of the multinational corporations in the developing countries. It was the states of this region<sup>11</sup> which presented to the commission on the multinationals, which was created by the UN Economic and Social Council, a joint draft of a Code for Behavior for Multinational Corporations, which was supported by the socialist states. It was only because of opposition from the Western powers that this document was not made mandatory; it was decided to make observation of the code voluntary.

The Latin American representatives are participating actively in the work of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Within the framework of this organ the region's countries criticize the positions of the imperialist powers. After noting the difficulties of the Latin American economy, they have insisted that global talks be held in order to discuss the complex situation in which the developing countries find themselves.

Thus, the 40-year history of Latin American diplomacy at the UN testifies to the growth of independence on the part of the region's countries in the taking of decisions on many of the most important international problems and in the strengthening of their critical attitude toward the politics of the imperialist states. It is extremely significant that during the UN committee discussions held in recent years on acute international problems the Latin American countries have with increasing frequency taken a position which approaches that of the socialist countries. Latin America's role in world politics is increasing; the authority of the continent's states in the international community is growing.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See for more detail: S.A. Gonionskiy, "Latinskaya Amerika i SShA (1939-1959)" [Latin America and the USA (1939-1959)], Moscow, 1960.
2. Citation according to "Strany Latinskoy Ameriki v OON" [The Countries of Latin America at the UN], Moscow, 1984, p 9.

3. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 28 January 1976.
4. EL DIA, Mexico, 4 December 1981.
5. Ibidem.
6. UN Document A/38/303--S/15877, 19 July 1983.
7. UN Document A/C. I/L. 513, 25 September 1970.
8. UN Document A/C.I/PV. 1725, 28 September. 1970.
9. Calculated according to "Yearbook of the United Nations 1970", New York, 1972, pp 13-40.
10. UN Document A/C. 1/31/PV.15, 4 October 1976.
11. Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Ecuador and Jamaica.

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

USSR TRADE REP URGES EXPANDED ECONOMIC TIES WITH JAPAN

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 30, Jul 85 pp 25-27

[Article by Victor Spandaryan]

[Text]

After the signing of the joint Soviet-Japanese declaration in 1956, and the trade treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Japan in 1957, trade between the two countries developed rapidly to reach 3.7 billion rubles in 1982, an increase of more than a hundred times in 25 years. This was aided by certain objective factors, such as a mutually complementary foreign trade structure: the presence of goods the other partner is interested in getting, the high level of economic development of both countries and their geographical proximity to each other.

The postwar development of trade and economic ties has been considerable. Under the trade treaty, regular five-year agreements on trade and settlements have been concluded; Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet committees for economic cooperation have been set up. Eight general agreements on Soviet-Japanese cooperation in tapping the natural resources of Siberia and the Far East have been signed, and some have already been implemented. Agreements on the joint exploitation of timber resources in the Far East, coking coal in South Yakutia, and oil and gas on the Sakhalin shelf are being put into effect.

In short, a sound basis has been created for broad and mutually beneficial trade and economic relations. This process, however, slowed down in the early 1980s, and by 1983/84 trade had dropped to some 3 billion rubles per annum. The main reason is that Japan has gone along with the "economic sanctions"

against the U.S.S.R. introduced by the U.S. Administration. Predictably, "sanctions" could not and cannot cause any substantial damage to the U.S.S.R., a strong industrial, scientific and technological power with vast natural resources. The overall performance of the Soviet economy has improved in recent years. Nor did the "sanctions" succeed in stemming the growth of the Soviet Union's external trade (with the exception of trade with the U.S.A. and Japan).

If anyone has suffered from the "sanctions" it has been the Japanese firms which have lost major Soviet orders (worth several billion dollars, according to the Japanese press) to West European firms.

Japanese businessmen could not just passively face the prospect of being ousted from the vast Soviet market. In February 1983, 250 representatives of trade and industrial firms and banks of Japan gathered in Moscow to look for ways of expanding Japanese-Soviet trade and economic cooperation. That initiative, however, did not, at the time, meet with the due support from the Japanese government.

It was only in mid-1984, when they had become convinced that a negative policy would yield no benefits, that the ruling circles in Tokyo resumed political dialogue with the Soviet Union. Nikolai Tikhonov, Andrei Gromyko, Dinmukhammed Kunayev, and Geidar Aliyev met Japanese government and public leaders. These meetings have had



a favourable effect. In December 1984 the 9th Soviet meeting of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet economic cooperation committees was held in Tokyo.

There was a dual significance of the December meeting: first, it marked the resumption of the joint work of these committees after a break of almost five years; and, second, not only did it consider the implementation of existing cooperation projects, but it also outlined possible new areas.

In short, the conference put paid to the notion of the "waning interest" of Japanese businessmen in trade and economic ties with the U.S.S.R., allegedly resulting from structural changes in the Japanese economy, cuts in imports of fuel and raw materials, and the growth of high-tech and material-saving industries. As R. Kawai told the *Nikkan Kogyo* newspaper "in terms of comprehensive economic security for Japan, it is necessary, on the one hand, to strengthen good-neighbour relations with the Soviet Union, and on the other, to cooperate in projects to develop the very profitable natural resources of Siberia, thus ensuring diversification of the stable sources of raw materials."

Eventually, the two countries have adopted a wide-scale programme of trade and economic cooperation for 1986-90, the period of the 12th five-year plan for the economic and social development of the U.S.S.R. This programme provides for:

- speeding up the start of the industrial development of the jointly discovered oil and gas deposits on the continental shelf of Sakhalin;

- the early signing of a second general agreement on supplies to Japan of technological chips and deciduous timber.

- starting talks, in 1985, on a fourth general agreement on cooperation in developing timber resources in the Far East, including in areas along the Baikal-Amur Railway;

- considering the possibilities for cooperation in expanding the Vostochny port and other projects in Soviet Far Eastern ports;

- making feasibility studies of cooperation in the development, on a compensation basis, of asbestos and copper in areas along the Baikal-

#### Amur Railway.

Another noteworthy fact is that during the Tokyo meeting the Soviet foreign trading organizations made enquiries about the large-scale supply to the U.S.S.R. of various equipment, including complete plants. Among these are complexes for the production of polyester fibres and threads, caustic soda and chlorine, vinyl chloride and polyvinyl chloride; plants for the manufacture of fireproof materials, technological chips, woodfibre plates; equipment and technology for the manufacture of video recorders. This may mean billions of dollars' worth of imported equipment from Japan for plants that are to be built or reconstructed in the 1986-90 period. Of course, these orders can only be placed in Japan given competitive technical, commercial and financial terms, and undoubtedly, given the necessary guarantees from the firms that these terms will be fulfilled. Because many of these orders involve an arrangement whereby the loans would be paid off in Soviet goods produced by the enterprises, these orders would expand Soviet industrial exports to Japan.

The results of the conference were greatly valued by the Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone, Foreign Minister Abe, the Minister of International Trade and Industry, Murata, and the Finance Minister, Takeshita. This is a hopeful sign for everyone who favours broader mutually beneficial economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan. The Soviet Union's readiness to develop such ties with Japan in various fields was voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev during his talks with Yasuhiro Nakasone in Moscow.

Unfortunately, the Japanese side still takes a negative stand with regard to signing an intergovernmental long-term agreement on the principles of economic cooperation. Such an agreement could provide a solid foundation for a whole range of trade and economic relations, as is the case with similar agreements the Soviet Union has with West European countries.

Summing up, one can say that there have been positive changes in Soviet-Japanese economic relations, both at the business level and the

intergovernmental level. This is a welcome development. For the growth of trade and economic co-operation contributes to the well-being of both our nations and to genuine good-neighbourly relations between them. Unfortunately, the experience of recent years has shown that we are not insured against relapses into the dead-end policy of bans. There are, however, grounds for hoping that common sense and good will based on the two sides' mutual interests will prevail in Soviet-Japanese economic relations.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

U.S. ROLE IN SAUDI ARABIAN ECONOMIC PLANNING

Moscow EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 7, Jul 85 pp 68-76

[Article by S. Tropin: "American Neocolonialism and the Planning of the Economic Development of Saudi Arabia"]

[Text] An analysis of contemporary international economic relations makes it possible to establish with full certainty the crisis of neocolonialist forms and methods of interrelations with developing countries generated by imperialism. Nonetheless, imperialism retains hopes of forcing young states to follow the direction of development which is advantageous to itself -- the capitalist direction, attempting to keep them as markets for selling and sources of raw materials and cheap work force. For these purposes, political, social, and economic means of influence on the developing countries are used and continually updated. Preeminence here belongs to the United States of America -- the main economic, financial, and military force of the capitalist world.<sup>1</sup>

Among the objects of American neocolonialist expansion, the Arab oil-producing countries of the Persian Gulf, including the largest producer and exporter of oil in the capitalist world -- the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, are specially important. This importance is not only determined by the United States' desire to use Saudi oil as a source of fuel, raw materials, and profits for American transnational energy corporations and as a means of influence on their strategic alliances. There are also important social and political factors here. The monarchic regime of Saudi Arabia, which has assumed the "function of the shaping and directing force for capitalist development"<sup>2</sup> of the kingdom, is aiding the strategists of American neocolonialism in their attempts to prove the advantages of the capitalist path of development of young states.

In our opinion, two main directions can be discerned in the mechanism of American influence on development of the Saudi economy. The first is direct influence on defining the goals of Saudi economic policy and on the government's working out the ways and methods of the country's socioeconomic development. Unlike the first, the second direction is indirect in nature and consists in taking part in realizing the kingdom's development plans in order to intensify Saudi Arabia's technological and trade dependence on the United States and on the capitalist world economy as a whole.

The second direction is sufficiently broadly covered in Soviet and foreign literature. As for the various forms of participation by the United States in working out the plans for Saudi Arabia's economic development, that is, the major element of the first of these directions of neocolonialist influence on the development of the young state, these forms have not been adequately investigated yet.

Saudi Arabia has already used state planning in one form or another for more than 2 decades (since 1958-1959). Its specific nature, within the framework of the very diverse and contradictory process planning is in the developing countries, not only consists in the colossal amounts of planned appropriations but also in their frequently-seen failure to correspond to the real needs of Saudi economic development, because this development is unable to absorb these appropriations. To a great extent this specific nature also accounts for the interest which Soviet and foreign literature exhibits in the economic problems of Saudi Arabia.<sup>3</sup>

Authors who examine planning in Saudi Arabia as a rule cover with some degree of detail the processes of its inception and development and analyze the main plan indicators and progress and results in fulfilling plans. In other words, attention is focused on how the planning process flows from the positions of the country's internal development. But in our opinion this process has a no less fundamental external aspect. The point is that Saudi planning, which is not a strictly domestic product, has experienced the very strong influence of Western countries and above all the United States. And the orientation of this influence makes it possible to assert that it is one of those ways and methods which imperialists use to try to get a hold over the developing countries in order to "more freely dispose of their natural wealth and use their territories for their own strategic schemes."<sup>5</sup>

As is well known, extremely rich oil reserves are the source of of the capital that Saudi Arabia is using to achieve a modern level of development.<sup>6</sup> These reserves have always been and continue to be the main object which attracts the leading oil monopolies, primarily American ones, to the kingdom. In order to gain access to Arabian oil, and consequently the Saudi market of goods and services which has been substantially expanded, U.S. monopolies have used the most diverse means of influence -- political, economic, legal, and others. In this connection, concession agreements and technical, technological, and other types of Saudi Arabia's dependence on the United States can be mentioned. It seems that the desire of the largest capitalist power to influence the processes of Saudi economic planning (more broadly -- economic development) should also be considered in the same class.

It is relevant to emphasize here that the activities of American capital have always had a substantial influence on the kingdom's processes of economic development and this is not denied by representatives of its ruling circles. Therefore, the "inclusion" of transoceanic capital in the planning Saudi Arabia is carrying out fits quite organically into the essentially neocolonialist system of relations between it and the United States.

As in other Afro-Asian countries, planning in Saudi Arabia has developed under the influence of a number of factors, both internal and external ones. They are the impressive impact of the successes of socialist national-economic planning, the emergence of economic programming in developed capitalist countries, and -- the most fundamental -- the objective processes of internal development which induce an expansion of the scope and increase in the forms and directions of state activity.<sup>7</sup> Internal and external factors are in continual interaction and this is already revealed even at the origins of economic planning in Saudi Arabia. If we speak of the internal forces which lead to the development of the planning process, then the role of the representatives of the ruling dynasty of Saudi Arabia itself and above all Crown Prince (subsequently king) Faysal ibn Abdul Aziz, should be pointed out here. The external forces are primarily embodied in international financial organizations -- the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] and the IMF [International Monetary Fund], both of which the United States clearly dominates.<sup>8</sup>

In the late 1950's and 1960's, during the early development of planning in Saudi Arabia, its main instrument was annual state budgets. During this time a mission of IMF experts took part in developing and fulfilling programs to put state finances in order<sup>9</sup>; a group of IBRD specialists<sup>10</sup> prepared the Program of Development of Saudi Arabia for 1961/1962 in November 1960<sup>11</sup>; and in the second half of the 1960's American economists who worked in Saudi Arabia under the auspices of the Ford Foundation composed a number of other programs of development of the country and took part in preparing the Saudi state budgets. It must be pointed out that the experts from the United States emphasized the need to stimulate the development of private enterprise in various sectors of the kingdom's economy in many of the programs prepared.<sup>12</sup>

The transition from short-term (annual) to middle-term (five-year) planning was made at the turn of the 1970's. At the same time, naturally, annual government budgets continued to be prepared.

At this point there have already been three five-year plans of development: 1971-1975, 1976-1980, and 1981-1985. The rapid growth in Saudi Arabia's income<sup>13</sup> related to repeated increases in the price of oil during the 1970's substantially expanded the country's financial capabilities. Thus, the first five-year plan envisioned expenditures of approximately 9.2 billion dollars; the second -- 141.1 billion dollars; and the third 231.4 billion dollars.<sup>14</sup>

It is not possible in this article to give a detailed analysis of each of the plans adopted in Saudi Arabia. Let us note only that the "tree of goals" of the country's economic development used in these plans is entirely developed by specialists from the United States,<sup>15</sup> and three groups of main goals may be discerned -- growth of gross national product; diversification of the national economy and reduction of its dependence on oil; and development of human resources.<sup>16</sup>

The task of very rapid development of the economy permeates the three five-year plans and in our opinion is key in all of them. Actually, on the one hand diversification puts the very general task of increasing gross national product in material form, defining the concrete forms and directions of this

growth. On the other hand, the desire to increase gross national product, within the framework of an economy which is being diversified in conditions of an acute labor shortage in Saudi Arabia, advances the task of accelerated development of national cadres. However, the approach to the concept of "diversification," to how extensive the list of newly developed sectors of the economy should be and what the optimal ratio of these sectors in Saudi conditions is, has changed from plan to plan. Thus, the American researcher R.D. Crane notes that "in the first plan when there were certain difficulties with money (for the government of Saudi Arabia -- author), the Saudis adhered to an improbably ambitious policy of industrial diversification which was to convert the country into a miniature United States. This path was considered a means. . . of not allowing foreigners to manipulate Saudi Arabia's multicultural economy."<sup>17</sup> R.D. Crane continues: "However, in preparing the second plan of development, when money was no longer a problem, the Saudis realized that they would never have enough money and labor, and certainly not enough time, while the price of oil held, to develop all industrial sectors concurrently. Instead of this, the Saudis decided to narrow their industrial profile and use a strategy of resource specialization directed at maximal use of their own natural advantages related to oil and other mineral products. The new plan envisioned overcoming extreme dependence on oil exports by developing a multisectorial chemical industry based on oil so that Saudi Arabia would be able to convert from exporting crude oil to exporting products of petrochemistry and oil refining."<sup>18</sup>

At the present time the plans for diversifying Saudi Arabia's economy primarily envision developing those sectors which are the most logical in conditions of an oil-producing country trying to surmount its narrow raw material specialization. Petrochemistry and oil refining permit large industry to be developed on the basis of local raw materials; this helps increase the country's economic potential and to a certain extent bolsters its economic independence. These sectors are capital intensive and, considering the high level of mechanization and automation of the petrochemical enterprises being built in the country, relatively low in labor intensiveness. On the one hand this helps the Saudi economy increase opportunities to "absorb" its colossal oil revenue and on the other, it helps partially ease the problem of the labor shortage.

A weighted approach to evaluating the prospects of further development of these sectors in Saudi Arabia is needed. At the present time U.S. energy monopolies for various reasons (among them the toughening of environmental protection laws in the United States and other Western countries) favor building gigantic gas and petrochemical enterprises in the kingdom. Nonetheless, moving these ecologically harmful, primarily export-oriented production facilities to the oil-producing regions (in this case -- in Saudi Arabia), in the first place, poses the question of carrying out large-scale environmental protection measures. Secondly, this move does not at all mean the automatic conversion of countries which export oil into individual producers of oil and gas refining products. Therefore, whether the new Saudi enterprises find markets for selling their output and whether this output will prove "equal" to similar output from the existing Western petrochemical companies will depend both on conditions in the world capitalist market and on Saudi Arabia's interrelations with the American and other Western monopolies.

The so-called new industrial zones -- the cities of Al Jubayl and Yanbu al Bahr -- are an embodiment of the contemporary economic development strategy of Saudi Arabia. The largest Saudi state companies, Petromin and SABIK, propose to build 10 oil refining and petrochemical complexes with large capacities and plants to produce steel, aluminum, and items from these metals there with the participation of foreign capital.

The idea of creating a colossal industrial zone in Al Jubayl including eight major petrochemical plants and a number of other enterprises was formulated in 1973-1974 with the direct participation of the American Bechtel Corporation. In 1973 it was invited to work out a plan of development for Al Jubayl and in 1976 received a general contract to implement this plan for a period of 25 years for a total sum of 9 billion dollars.<sup>19</sup> As for the plan for building two large petrochemical enterprises in Yanbu al Bahr, this idea was proposed by the Ralph M. Parsons Company, which today is also the general contractor for building the industrial zone in this city.

In speaking of the U.S. influence on the processes of economic planning in Saudi Arabia, and more particularly -- on the spectrum of newly created sectors of Saudi industry and even the adoption of the plans of certain particular enterprises, one must not fail to note that the Saudis by no means submissively agree to everything that the American advisers propose to them. The initial unconditional admiration of foreign projects is more and more frequently replaced by a sober and more discriminating approach. Thus, the Saudi deputy minister of planning F. Al-Bashir emphasized that the kingdom will invest capital in oil-refining and other projects only when economically expedient.<sup>20</sup>

The question of the economic expediency of setting up large oil refining and petrochemical facilities in Saudi Arabia remained open for a long time. It was decided positively only on the threshold of the 1980's when the consultants to the American Shell International Chemical Company, after many years of research, obtained results which showed that production of methanol in Saudi Arabia would be three times cheaper than in the United States, while "Saudi" ethylene and the primary products of its refinement would be cheaper than similar "Western European" products. It was precisely at this time that the swift process of signing contracts to build large complexes in Al Jubayl and Yanbu al Bahr began, and the process was carried out with substantial reflection of U.S. interests. Contracts to build 7 of 10 of the complexes mentioned were given to American companies. Naturally, the American general contractors (the previously mentioned initiators of the development of petrochemistry in Al Jubayl and Yanbu al Bahr -- Bechtel Corporation and the Ralph M. Parsons Company) also prefer to deal with Americans subcontractors (see table on next page).

The opportunity to obtain major contracts to build petrochemical complexes and supply the equipment for them is not the only benefit which the American companies desire to obtain from developing petrochemistry in the country. Obviously, to a lesser extent two other factors attract them there: the possibility of guaranteed purchases of oil in exchange for taking part in the development of petrochemistry and the output which in the near future the

The Participation of Foreign Companies in Major Petrochemical Projects in Al Jubayl and Yanbu al Bahr\*

<u>Name of Company</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Cost,</u> <u>dollars</u>	<u>Data on Contracts</u>		<u>Date Signed</u>
			<u>Capacity,</u> <u>tons per year</u>	<u>Location</u>	
SABIK Partners					
Silinez Chemical/ Texas Eastern Consortium	USA	300 million	730,000	Al Jubayl	May 1981
Dow Chemical**	USA	1.6 billion (1.45 billion)***	973,000 (500,000)***	Al Jubayl	May 1981
Exxon Chemical Arabia (Subsidiary of Exxon)	USA	1.1 billion	240,000	Al Jubayl	April 1980
Mobil	USA	2 billion	941,000	Yanbu al Bahr	March 1980
Pecten Arabia (Subsidiary of Shell)	USA	3.012 billion	2,720,000	Al Jubayl	July 1980
Saudi Petrochemical Development Corporation	Japan	1.946 billion	860,000	Al Jubayl	April 1980
Saudi Japanese Methanol Company	Japan	270 million	730,000	Al Jubayl	October 1980
Petromin Partners					
Shell Saudi Arabian Refinery (Subsidiary, Great Royal Dutch Shell)	Britain/ Holland	. . .	253,000	Al Jubayl	
Socal/Texaco	USA	1 billion	118,000	Al Jubayl	March 1980
Mobil Yanbu (Subsidiary of Mobil)	USA	1.5 billion	250,000	Yanbu al Bahr	March 1980

\*Cited from MEED, London (for 1980-1981); Quarterly Energy Review. Middle East. London, No 1, 1983, p 30.

\*\*In December 1982 Dow Chemical refused to continue participating in this project (for more details see text).

\*\*\*Final parameters after Dow Chemical's refusal to participate in project.



complexes under construction will begin to produce. Thus, three-quarters of the output of the complex being erected by Mobil will be sold through the trade network controlled by this American company. The Shell Company (USA) will not only sell the share of petrochemical output due it according to the provisions of the contract, but the share which will belong to SABIK as well, while the Exxon Company and the Silinez Chemical/Texas Eastern Consortium will account for 90 percent and 80 percent of the sale of the output, respectively.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, in influencing the nature and direction of Saudi economic planning, the United States has focused its main attention on oil refining and petrochemistry and, very likely, are as hopeful that these economic sectors will lead to further involvement of Saudi Arabia in the orbit of the world capitalist economy with the status of junior partner, as the Saudis are hopeful that they will help in overcoming the strictly raw material nature of their own economy and developing heavy industry in the kingdom.

The result of this involvement is, among other things, that the results of fulfilling Saudi development plans depend in many respects on the condition of the world capitalist economy and on the policies of the Western monopolies. This dependence is above all revealed in the connection among "conditions on the oil market -- Saudi Arabian revenue -- fulfillment of development plans." Most likely, such a factor as "conditions in the petrochemical output market" will soon be added to this chain. Fluctuations in oil prices, unlike the rate of growth in oil revenue predicted when the plans were composed, result in a continual review of plan indicators. Thus, in early 1977 it was necessary to give up the planned construction of an aluminum plant and an automatic assembly plant and the building of five distilling units and a number of other projects; the projected capacity of a steel foundry was reduced to 300,000 tons as compared to 5 million tons per year according to the second five-year plan.<sup>22</sup> In connection with the decline in oil prices in the early 1980's, the third five-year plan of development of Saudi Arabia was fundamentally revised. According to the statement by G. al-Goseybi, the minister of industry and electricity, the scope of certain planned projects was substantially reduced while the performance of a number of other projects was postponed.<sup>23</sup> The reduced scope of a number of projects was a direct result of the influence of American companies. Thus, in December 1982 Dow Chemical, foreseeing the reduced demand for petrochemical output on the world market, refused to take further part in building the petrochemical plant in Al Jubayl and recalled its share of the capital (150 million of the 1.6 billion dollar total cost of the project). As a result, the Saudi company SABIK had to reduce the projected parameters of the plant in both volume (to almost one-half the projected level) and range of output.<sup>24</sup>

In attempting to model Saudi Arabia's economy in a course which it finds acceptable, the United States does not restrict itself only to the sectors of petrochemistry and oil refining. In creating a base for broader penetration of American monopolies into the country, the United States conducts research in the kingdom's territory on prospects for developing industrial and agricultural sectors and modernizing traditional sectors which already exist. Such activity must not be directly called influence on the processes of

economic planning in Saudi Arabia. However, in determining the future forms of production organization in certain sectors of the Saudi economy, this activity substantially increases the odds of developing these sectors along the path proposed by American experts.

In this case the instrument of American influence is the Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation between the United States and Saudi Arabia, created in 1974. According to the opinion of the English economic weekly, MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DIGEST, the main goal of the Commission is to encourage the transfer of American technology to Saudi Arabia.<sup>25</sup>

It must be emphasized that, as the American researcher J. Anthony notes, King Faysal tied hopes for achieving the "common goals of the two countries" to this commission.<sup>26</sup> The king believed that the commission would help maintain the present rather impressive level of Saudi-American cooperation in the fields of industry, trade, financial and banking transactions, personnel training, and technical assistance. Secondly, this commission was to confer a certain form to what Faysal considered a "continually expanding and deepening structure which binds the economic destinies of the two countries."<sup>27</sup> Faysal's opinion shows that the Saudi side itself is interested in deepening and increasing the scope of relations with the United States. In this way, the seeds of American influence fall on very favorable soil here.<sup>28</sup>

As of the middle of 1980 the Joint Commission was carrying out 19 research and auxiliary programs in the territory of Saudi Arabia.<sup>29</sup> These programs encompass a very diverse circle of sectors of the Saudi economy and are devoted to rather narrow, practical problems. Within the framework of each program a transfer of American technology and experience in production organization takes place and certain model experimental facilities (information and education centers, agricultural livestock units, and so on) are set up which are, apart from anything else, to publicize U.S. achievements in science, technology, and economics.

In addition to assistance in determining the future of the country's economic development, the Commission fulfills one other important function -- it helps American capital penetrate Saudi Arabia. The American press noted that the Commission's creation helps U.S. corporations in the struggle for Saudi governmental orders. Referring to the opinion of businessmen, THE NEW YORK TIMES asserted in this connection that in Saudi Arabia "preference is given to Americans in placing orders."<sup>30</sup>

It is interesting that of all the 19 Commission projects only 1 is financed with the participation of the American side -- a program of research and practical developments in the field of solar energy; it costs 100 million dollars.<sup>31</sup> It seems that U.S. participation in financing this project, on the one hand, attests to the Americans' desire not so much to develop this type of power engineering in the kingdom as to expand its own experience in the practical use of solar energy, and Saudi Arabia with its sunny climate is becoming a suitable place for corresponding large-scale developments.<sup>32</sup>

In conclusion, in our opinion, we must dwell on one other type of dependence which arises in the process of U.S. participation in economic planning in

Saudi Arabia. As is well known, drawing up the plan of economic development for any country (and Saudi Arabia is no exception) requires elaborating a large number of different variants and models and substantiation of each indicator. All this activity is impossible without the extensive use of modern computers. The United States offers its services in this regard as well, literally flooding the Saudi market with all possible models of the most modern computers.<sup>33</sup> In addition, American companies which specialize in producing electronic output fulfill contracts to train Saudi personnel to service the computers. In this way, even the very process, the technique of drawing up development plans is of commercial benefit to the American companies.

Thus, a brief analysis of U.S. influence on the processes of conceiving and developing economic planning in Saudi Arabia as one of the links of the mechanism of American influence on the development of Saudi Arabia's economy makes it possible to conclude that in its desire to preserve and consolidate neocolonialist positions in Saudi Arabia, U.S. imperialism uses all ways and means which exist, one of which is influence on the nature and orientation of Saudi economic planning. This influence is called on, on the one hand, to increase the emphasis in Saudi plans on the need to expand private enterprise in the kingdom, which undoubtedly should help develop Saudi Arabia's economy along the capitalist path. On the other hand, such a result is achieved as the creation of new sectors of the Saudi economy and the appearance of certain enterprises and projects in whose construction the United States can be investor and contractor. Moreover, the Saudi plans are also important to the United States since American companies determine the strategy of their activities in Saudi Arabia on the basis of these plans.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, 1976, p 31.
2. R.N. Andreasyan, V.V. Ozoling, "The Oil Monarchies of the Arab Peninsula: Specific Features of Socioeconomic Development" in the book "Arabskiye strany: neft' i differentsiatsiya" [The Arab Countries: Oil and Differentiation], Moscow, 1984, p 145.
3. See, for example: V.V. Ozoling, "Ekonomika Saudovskoy Aravii" [Saudi Arabia's Economy], Moscow, 1975; A.I. Yakovlev, "Saudovskaya Araviya i Zapad" [Saudi Arabia and the West], Moscow, 1982; A.G. Georgiyev, V.V. Ozoling, "Neftyanyye monarkhii Aravii. Problemy razvitiya" [The Oil Monarchies of Arabia. Problems of Development], Moscow, 1983; R. Knauerhase, "The Saudi Arabian Economy," New York, 1975; J.P. Cleron, "Saudi Arabia 2000: A Strategy for Growth," New York, 1978; R.D. Crane, "Planning the Future of Saudi Arabia. A Model for Achieving National Priorities," New York, 1978; "King Faysal and Modernization of Saudi Arabia," edited by W.A. Beling, Boulder, Colorado, 1980.
4. [This footnote is not indicated in the text]. This fact is stated in a number of the works cited. Thus, A.I. Yakovlev notes that the very

composing of plans of socioeconomic development (for Saudi Arabia -- author) is completely in the hands of Western specialists (A.I. Yakovlev, op. cit., p 117) and that an American research group from the Stanford Institute which is working in the kingdom "conducted the basic work on putting economic statistics in order and composing all three five-year plans of economic development" (ibid., p 122). V.V. Ozoling also points out that "the United States actively participates in planning Saudi Arabia's industrial development and realizing these plans" (A.G. Georgiyev, V.V. Ozoling, op.cit., p 143) and "the future plan of industrialization, the implementation of which began in the years of the second five-year plan, was composed on the basis of the agreement on technical cooperation (between Saudi Arabia and the United States -- author) (ibid.).

5. "Materialy XXVI s'yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 14.
6. Known reserves of oil in Saudi Arabia at the start of 1983 amounted to 22.1 billion tons or 27.7 percent of world reserves (excluding the socialist countries) or 43.6 percent of the reserves of the countries of the Near and Middle East (cited from: "The Economic Position of Capitalist and Developing Countries" -- appendix to the journal MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, 1983, p 40.
7. For information on this see, for example: "Zarubezhnyy Vostok i sovremennost'. Osnovnyye problemy i tendentsii razvitiya stran zarubezhnogo Vostoka. V 3-kh tomakh" [The Foreign East and Contemporary Times. The Main Problems and Trends of Development of the Countries of the Foreign East. In 3 Volumes], Moscow, 1980, Vol 1, pp 234-235.
8. See: "Mezhdunarodnyye ekonomicheskiye organizatsii. Spravochnik" [International Economic Organizations. A Manual], edited by I.O. Farizov, Moscow, 1982, pp 162-164.
9. See: A.I. Yakovlev, op.cit., pp 53-54.
10. U.S. companies are in the most favorable position in the IBRD; they account for 25 percent of the votes on the bank board, which creates favorable conditions for American consulting firms receiving orders from developing countries. In the opinion of Soviet authors M.M. Koptev and M.S. Ochkov, the fulfillment of orders (consultations, expert evaluations, and others) is one of the routes to markets and methods of expanding influence on the economies of liberated countries (see: M.M. Koptev, M.S. Ochkov, "Tekhnicheskaya 'pomoshch'' v strategii imperializma" [Technical 'Assistance' in the Strategy of Imperialism], Moscow, 1977, p 145).
11. See: R. Knauerhase, op.cit., p 319.
12. See: ibid.

13. In the period 1971-1981, Saudi Arabian revenue from exporting crude oil increased by a factor of more than 34 -- from 3.3 billion dollars to 113.7 billion dollars, while taking into account oil products exports, the factor was greater than 35, reaching 119 billion dollars in 1981 (cited from: "Yearbook of International Trade Statistics. Vol. 1. Trade by Country," U.N.N.Y. for corresponding years).
14. See: "Saudovskaya Araviya. Spravochnik" [Saudi Arabia. A Manual], responsible editor -- V.V. Ozoling, Moscow, 1980, p 118; MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DIGEST (henceforth -- MEED), London, 7 November 1980, p 6. Conversion of Saudi riyals see: INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL STATISTICS, Washington, IMF, No 1, 1983.
15. See: R.D. Crane, op.cit., pp 4-5.
16. See: "Saudovskaya Araviya. Spravochnik," op.cit., pp 118, 119; "Mulyakhkhas khutta at-tanmiya as-salisa li-l-mamlyaka al'-arabiyya as-saudiyya. 1400-1405/1980-1985" [Brief Account of the Third Plan of Development of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. 1980-1985], Jiddah, 1981, p 19.
17. R.D. Crane, op. cit., p 7.
18. Ibid.
19. See: H.G. Hambleton, "The Saudi Arabian Petrochemical Industry: Its Rationale and Effectiveness" in "State, Society, and Economy in Saudi Arabia," London, 1982, p 238; R.D. Crane, op. cit., p 20.
20. See: MEED, London, No 32, 8 August 1980, p 36.
21. See: H.G. Hambleton, op. cit., pp 259, 261-263.
22. See: J.B. Kelly, "Arabia, the Gulf, and the West. A Critical View of the Arabs and Their Oil Policy," London, 1980, p 246.
23. See: MEED, No 39, 30 September 1983, p 38.
24. See: QUARTERLY ENERGY REVIEW. MIDDLE EAST, London, No 1, 1983, p 30; MEED, London, No 42, 21 September 1983, p 15.
25. See: MEED, London, July 1983, Special Report on Saudi Arabia, p 13.
26. J.D. Anthony, "The U.S.-Saudi Arabian Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation" in "King Faysal and Modernization of Saudi Arabia," edited by W.A. Beling, Boulder, Colorado, 1980, p 102.
27. Ibid.

28. It is notable that practically all the projects which the Commission is working on are financed through Saudi deductions under the control of the U.S. Department of the Treasury (see: MEED, London, No 14, 4 April 1980, p 34).
29. See: MEED, London, July 1980, Special Report on Saudi Arabia, p 91; "Saudi Arabia. A MEED Practical Guide," edited by T. Mostyn, London, 1981, p 90.
30. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 21 July 1975.
31. See: "Saudi Arabia. A MEED Practical Guide," op. cit., p 90.
32. According to reports in the foreign press, the largest solar power plant in the world, with a capacity of 350 kilowatts, was put into operation in Saudi Arabia in the second half of October 1983; it was built within the framework of an American-Saudi research program (see: MEED, London, No 42, 21 October 1983, p 50).
33. In general Americans strongly advocate "computerization" of sectors of Saudi Arabia's economy -- from composing various plans and programs to introducing computers in customs offices. And, naturally, reasons are given for the need to use computers so that the national economy can develop successfully. While in no way denying this benefit, it must be noted that the "computerization" carried out by American firms creates yet another sphere of technological enslavement of the country. The use of computers by Saudi Arabia, which does not have its own specialists to design and build such complex electronic systems, makes it completely dependent on the country which produces computers and is able to supply and set up new computers, train personnel to service them, write programs, and other things.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

ESTABLISHMENT OF LEBANON'S FRONT OF NATIONAL UNION PRAISED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by Yuriy Glukhov: "Striving for Unity"]

[Text] A few days ago an event took place in Lebanon which gave birth to hopes for ending the crisis which the country is experiencing, worn out by Israeli aggression, imperialist interference and internal strife. In the city of Shtawrah the creation of the Front for National Union (FNU) was announced. Nearly 15 progressive and patriotic organizations of Lebanon joined it, including the Progressive-Socialist Party, the "Amal" movement, the Lebanese Communist Party and representatives of various communities, both Muslim and Christian.

The talk concerns the unification of forces for solving the critical problems of Lebanon. The most important of these is the complete liberation of the territory from the Israeli occupiers. As before, Tel-Aviv is making an effort to hold on to the south of the country. That is why continuing the struggle against the aggressor and their imperialist allies is one of the basic tasks put forth in Shtawrah.

Another important problem is the restoration of national unity, peace and security. As is known, the enemies of the Lebanese people are playing on religious and inter-communal contradictions, fanning internecine dissension and splitting and weakening Lebanon. The creation of the Front of National Union itself, which representatives of various political and religious views joined, demonstrates the possibility of unifying the forces on a broad, all-national patriotic basis. In the political announcement adopted the task is posed for the liquidation of the division of Lebanon according to the so-called confessional, religious community basis (it is namely this which is the foundation of the state apparatus) and of carrying out social and democratic reforms.

The Lebanese struggle for restoration of their trampled rights is part of the all-Arab struggle for liquidating the consequences of the Israeli aggression. It is not accidental that Tel-Aviv and Washington wanted to isolate Lebanon from Syria and the other Arab countries, [cause Lebanon] to argue with the Palestinians and to deprive it of international support. The meeting in Shtawrah served to frustrate these plans. The FNU spoke out for developing

and strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation with all those who regard Lebanon with sympathy, especially with the socialist commonwealth.

Although a sufficiently significant part of the forces active in Lebanon's political arena are not taking part in the activity of the front its creation is symbolic. It represents the Lebanese aspirations for national dialog, achievement of unity and the establishment of peace in their long-suffering land.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

HUSSEIN-ARAFAT ACCORD ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS CRITICIZED

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 29, Jul 85 pp 10-11

[Article by O. Fomin]

[Text]

The Syrian newspaper Al-Thawrah, commenting on the American Administration's unlawful decision to boycott Beirut international airport, has noted that Washington is trying to intimidate the Arab peoples and thrust them on to the path of capitulatory deals. The paper believes that the same aim is behind the present concentration of a U.S. Navy armada off the Lebanese coast.

As likely as not, this is precisely the case.

In his recent interview with the Jordanian newspaper Saut Al Shaab, the U.S. President stressed that his initiative of September 1, 1982, known as "Reagan's Middle East Plan," remains in effect and continues to reflect the most expedient approach to settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the same time he hinted quite transparently that he would like the positions held by the Israeli and Jordanian-Palestinian delegations at the talks going on between them to eventually coincide with the ideas contained in his plan. At the same time, he specially noted that nobody should gain the impression that Washington is imposing its formulas on anyone. It should be recalled that an attempt is being made to revive a plan that runs counter to the decisions of the 1982 Arab summit in Fez (Morocco) and that has been rejected by the latest sessions of the Palestine National Council. The Arabs call this plan "Camp David in a new wrapping," since it ignores the right of the Palestinians to an independent state. The intention is to revive the plan through the Jordanians and Palestinians, and the idea of "Arabizing Camp David" could not have been expressed more candidly.

The American Administration is banking largely on the agreement signed on

February 11 this year between King Hussein and Yasser Arafat on the "framework of joint action." All Arab anti-imperialist forces are convinced that the Amman document serves the ends of Washington and Tel Aviv because it also ignores the national rights of the Palestinians and, above all, their right to national statehood; in fact, it rejects the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people, and denies the PLO the chance of taking a principled patriotic and anti-imperialist stand.

It is to Jordan, but naturally under U.S. supervision, that Washington is allotting the key role in the "peace process." When speaking to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in June, the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz stated that "there is a new momentum in the peace process in recent months, a momentum due largely to King Hussein." He described the Jordanian King's visit to the United States as a major new step towards a peace settlement. Shultz spoke approvingly of King Hussein's call on the PLO to drop their demands for an independent Palestinian state and enter into talks with Israel as part of the Jordanian delegation. Shultz did not forget to remind everyone that Jordan remained the only Arab state to have restored diplomatic relations with Egypt without demanding

that it abrogate the Camp David accords. The purpose of Shultz's arguments was to help the Senators understand the need to grant Amman gratuitous assistance to the tune of \$250 million.

The press reported that the King of Jordan had offered Washington and Tel Aviv the draft of a four-stage process leading to direct talks between Jordan and Arafat, and Israel. A preliminary meeting between the United States and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation without representatives of the PLO should be held as a first stage. This would be followed by a second meeting between the United States and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, this time including Arafat's representatives. An international conference on the Middle East and direct talks between a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and Tel Aviv would be the third and fourth stages of the process.

The Arab progressive public is sharply critical of the Jordanian plan. It notes that, by following this plan, Yasser Arafat will have to publicly recognize Israel without winning recognition of the PLO in return. It would be finally confirmed that the formation of the Jordanian-Palestinian confederation rules out the creation of an independent Palestinian state. As for the international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union, it is being given the role only of a sort of international umbrella to provide a cover for Tel Aviv's separate talks with the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Anti-imperialist circles in the Arab world stress that the Jordanian scenario is based on the assumption that Arafat and his followers might disavow the key aims of the Palestinian people's struggle. Some of Arafat's colleagues are stating on the pages of such well known Arab newspapers as the Kuwait Al-Anbaa and the London Sharq Al-Aousat that the time has supposedly come to give up the PLO's "maximalist programme that groundlessly ascribes to the United States hostile plots against the Palestinian revolution," and also the "one-sided orientation" towards the socialist countries.

It is interesting that even this Jordanian variant did not suit the Israeli leadership. Prime Minister Shimon Peres came up with a counterplan consisting of five phases, its purpose being to bring about the very same separate talks

between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian delegates not associated with the PLO. Peres has agreed to an international conference, but only if it is attended just by the Western permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. So the aim is to replace the PLO with Palestinian quislings who represent nobody, and to ditch the representative international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the Soviet Union. United Nations' auspices are to be replaced openly by the auspices of NATO.

The American Administration, having detected in the Jordanian scenario and the Peres plan not merely differences, but also quite a few common features, is now trying to minimize the gap between them. The U.S. Secretary of State described the Jordanian and Israeli proposals as important steps in the peace process, and stated his intention of discussing with both sides how "to construct a mutually acceptable approach to negotiations." An American meeting with a delegation consisting of Jordanians and Palestinians who do not represent the PLO is to be held shortly. In its "peacemaking" activities the White House proceeds from the premise that "by imparting a new impetus to the peace process" King Hussein also speaks for Arafat.

George Shultz has stated: "We are prepared to do what we can to bring the parties together." The reports about the supposedly changing attitude of the U.S. to the idea of holding an international conference on the Middle East should also be viewed in this light. In reality, as is noted by Arab champions of a just settlement, the participants in the planned deal talk about searching for an "international form" of the settlement as a cover for working out a plan that has nothing to do with the international conference on the Middle East advocated by the Soviet Union. The actual aim, in fact, is to create an "international cover" for separate deals.

The American Administration is alarmed and concerned over the unpopularity of the Amman agreement in the Arab world. The White House realizes that an "Arab umbrella" is possibly even more important than an international one for any separate deal to be brought off. That explains the overt and covert attempts to persuade the Arab countries to support the Amman accords. Washington hopes that before the opening of the planned separate talks the Arabs

will show greater approval and support for King Hussein. The Americans are particularly counting on an Arab summit.

In the meantime the Arab countries are by no means united on their attitude to the summit. The Jordan Times, for instance, which is pro-summit, wrote that it could result in a statement of clear and unequivocal support by the Arabs for the Amman agreement and the Jordanian-Palestinian efforts to achieve a Middle East settlement based on it. The diametrically opposite view is held by such countries as Syria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The newspaper Tishrin, published in Damascus, stresses that it would be meaningful to convene an Arab summit if it adopted measures to rally the Arab ranks on an anti-imperialist basis. But in the present circumstances, a summit would only aggravate the split and contradictions, since some Arab regimes would try, by imparting legitimacy to the agreement between King Hussein and Yasser Arafat, to push through in the Middle East a new separate collusion of the Camp David type. A message sent by the Yemeni foreign minister to his Syrian counterpart says that the time is most unsuitable to hold an Arab summit, because extremely dangerous conditions are taking shape in the region "following the new capitulatory steps taken by certain Arab states in support of the Amman agreement and the continuation thereby of the Camp David accords."

The member countries of the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation (Syria, the P.D.R.Y., Libya and Algeria), eight out of the ten organizations of the Palestine Resistance movement, the national patriotic forces of Lebanon and all Arab anti-imperialist circles resolutely oppose any Arabization of the Camp David agreements. They warn that the consequences of the new anti-Arab deal will be even more tragic than the events that followed in the wake of the Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty.

In his interview with the Jordanian newspaper Reagan spoke of a "return" (by Israel) of territories in exchange for "defendable" borders. It is well known

that Israeli leaders, be they from the Likud bloc or the Maarach, have always regarded the Jordan River as such a border. That is why the present Israeli Prime Minister, Peres, will not guarantee an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. He does not even want to hear of any dismantling of the Israeli paramilitary settlements on the occupied territories. He arbitrarily places outside the terms of reference of the possible talks not only the PLO, but also the millions of Palestinians who have been driven off their land by the Zionists. The Palestinian and other Arab patriots warn that the intended pseudopeace would only serve the interests of Washington and Tel Aviv.

The Arab patriotic forces reject the capitulatory and separate variants of the Middle East settlement. They support collective efforts by all interested sides with the obligatory participation of the Soviet Union in all steps leading to a settlement. They firmly believe that, without such participation, the Arabs will not be able to stand up to the American-Israeli pressure. It was noted during the recent meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of Syria, Hafez Assad, that Israel and the United States want to force their military-political diktat on the Arabs and to draw them into deals that are advantageous to imperialism but are dangerous and humiliating to the Arab peoples. Special attention was drawn to the "danger of the intrigues of Israel and the United States against the Arab people of Palestine, of their attempts to prevent with the assistance of certain Arab circles the creation of an independent Palestinian state."

The patriotic Arab circles see the road to a just and all-embracing peace in the Middle East not in separate and capitulatory variants but in the convocation of a genuinely representative international conference with the obligatory participation in it of the PLO as an independent and full-fledged side, in the strict fulfilment of Arab and Palestinian decisions rejecting the Camp David agreements and the "Reagan plan."

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SOCIOECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING BURKINA FASO DESCRIBED

Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 22, 27 May-2 Jun 85 p 11

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondent Mikhail Ilinskiy, from Ouagadougou: "The Land of Honorable People"]

[Excerpt] Despite the people's resistance...by 1904 the colonialists had consolidated their positions in the Upper Volta. This country achieved independence only 56 years later, in August 1960. And within 25 years, after a coup d'etat, power passed to the National Council of the Revolution, which has been headed up by Captain Thomas Sankara. The republic acquired a new name--Burkina Faso--the Homeland of Worthy People or the Land of the Honorable People. And there are 7 million of these people on 274 square kilometers.

The directive, guiding, and controlling power in the country in political, economic, and social matters is exercised by the National Council of the Revolution (NCR), headed up by its chairman, Thomas Sankara. The conduits of the central power in the localities--in 25 provinces, in departments, communes, and populated points--are committees for the defense of the revolution (CDR).

The country is confronted with big problems. Burkina Faso, according to UN data, is among the least developed countries. Some 75 percent of the population lives in utter poverty; more than 50 percent of the children suffer from malnutrition; and more than 90 percent of the inhabitants are illiterate.

The country lives, for the most part, by means of agriculture. The natural misfortunes of last year destroyed a large portion of the food crop.

"The principal cause of the misfortunes which have devastated Burkina Faso, has been brought about not, of course, merely by the tricks of nature," I was told by one of the country's leading journalists--Babou Polen Bamouni. "The difficulties are connected, above all, with the backwardness in economic, social, and cultural matters. And this is the ruinous result of almost 60 years of domination by the colonialists."

"Nor must we forget," he continued, "about the subversive economic and political actions of neo-colonialists and the imperialist circles who are striving through various channels to intervene in the country's internal life. They utilize their so-called economic aid as a unique master-key, an instrument for interfering in the affairs of the young, sovereign African states."

Causing particular disturbance in Western circles was the news of the agricultural reform and the act nationalizing the land and mineral resources. In accordance with the president's decree, the land and the mineral resources of Burkina Faso, since August 1984, have become the property of the revolutionary state. Burkinians are the only persons who can head up all enterprises. Slipping from the hands of the former colonialists is the country's natural wealth, which they, proceeding from their own calculations, had previously "not noted." Now they have begun to talk about the gold digs in Pura, about manganese, large deposits of which are located in the northeastern part of the country, in Tambao, as well as about silver, lead, zinc, antimony....

Nor to the liking of the "former masters" are those measures which the revolutionary regime is promulgating in the fields of education, culture, and health care. But who is to blame if not the colonialists and their successors for the fact that the level of illiteracy in Burkina Faso has remained one of the highest in the world--92.4 percent?

To make school available for everybody, to rear the builders of a new life, and to eliminate illiteracy--such are the important tasks in the area of national education which Burkina Faso's National Council of the Revolution has set for itself. On the agenda is the promulgation of a radical reform of the entire system of national education in accordance with the needs of the republic's economic and social development.

Considerable aid to the young republic in the matter of upgrading the educational system has been rendered by the Soviet Union. Dozens of Burkina Faso's citizens have received diplomas as agronomists, engineers, and physicians in the Soviet Union. Now they have become an active part of the process of building a new life in the republic.

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